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THE

HISTORY

OF

ITALY,

3847

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

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IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

Chevalier AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD,

Knight of the Military Order of St. *Stephen*.

VOL. V.

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Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK IX.

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The Pope becomes a Friend to the Venetians. *Cauſes of the Rupture between the King of* France *and the* Swiſs. Cæſar *and the King of* France *confirm their League againſt the* Venetians. *The Pope makes War upon* Ferrara. *Bad Succeſs of the* Venetians. *The Pope's Deſign againſt* Genoa. *A General Council ſummoned to meet at* Piſa. *Rebellion of* Bologna.

THAT Conſtancy and Reſolution of Mind, which the Pope had ſhown in the Abſolution of the *Venetians*, greatly diſturbed *Cæſar*, as it *A. D.* 1510.

A. D. 1510 principally concerned his Affairs, and gave no leſs Uneaſineſs to the King of *France*, who, out of Regard to his own Intereſt, was unwilling to ſee that Senate reſtored to its former Greatneſs. He could not however intirely diſcover the Depth of the Pope's Intentions, but fortifying himſelf with vain Hopes againſt the Difficulties that were preparing to ſurround him, he perſuaded himſelf that the Pontiff had taken this Step from a Jealouſy he had conceived of his Union with *Cæſar*; and that by temporiſing with him, and giving him no Cauſe for greater Apprehenſions, he would content himſelf with the Abſolution, and proceed no further. But *Julius*, confirming himſelf more and more every Day in his Reſolutions, granted Liberty, in contradiction to the repeated Remonſtrances of the Ambaſſadors of the Allies, to the Feudatories and Subjects of the Church to liſt in the Service of the *Venetians*. By virtue of this Licence the Republic enliſted *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, under the Title of Governor of their Army, which, ſince the Death of Count *Pitigliano*, had remained without a Captain

Pope favours the *Venetians*.

the *Swiſs* by means of the Biſhop of *Sion*, who was of great Authority in that Nation, and, by haranguing in their Councils, and preaching in their Churches, with mighty Efficacy, had never ceaſed intreating and preſſing the Accompliſhment of ſo pious a Work. By this Treaty the *Swiſs*, on Condition of the yearly Payment of One Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins to each Canton, took upon themſelves the Protection of the Pope and the Eccleſiaſtical State, permitting him to levy a certain Number of their Troops for his Defence. A. D. 1510. Makes a Treaty with the *Swiſs*.

THIS Treaty was facilitated by the Quarrel which began to ariſe between the *Swiſs* and the King of *France*. For the *Swiſs*, grown proud of the Value which was univerſally ſet upon their Service, and having the Preſumption to imagine that all the Victories which this preſent King, or his Predeceſſor had obtained in *Italy* were principally owing to their Valour, and to the Terror of their Arms, thought themſelves to have highly merited of the Crown of *France*. Therefore King of *France* differs with the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1510. when they were ſollicited by the King to renew the Confederacy, which was expired, they demanded an Increaſe of their Penſions. Sixty Thouſand Franks a Year were firſt ſettled on them by *Lewis* XI, and continued to be paid till this Time, not including the Penſions which were beſtowed in ſecret on many of their leading Men. They made this Demand in ſo haughty a Manner that the King, provoked at their Inſolence, and, to uſe his own Words, at being thus imperiouſly mulcted by a Parcel of low Fellows, born and bred in the Mountains, in Terms more becoming the royal Dignity than conducive to his preſent Intereſt, gave them to underſtand how much he deſpiſed them. He was the more animated in this Proceeding becauſe, at the ſame time, by means of *Giorgio Sopraſaſſo*, the *Valleſe*, Subjects of *Sion*, divided into ſeven Communities, called by them *Cordi*, being corrupted by Preſents, and Promiſes of Penſions, both in public and private, had entered into a Confederacy with him; by which they were obliged to grant a Paſſage to his Troops, but to deny the ſame to his

Makes a League with the *Valleſe* and *Griſons*.

his Enemies; and to enter into his Service with ſuch a Number of Troops as was proportionable to their Force. He had contracted an Alliance alſo with the Lords of the Three Leagues called *Griſons*; and tho' a Part of the *Valleſe* had not yet ratified the Confederacy, the King hoped to induce them to it by continuing to make uſe of the ſame Means. Hence he perſuaded himſelf that the Friendſhip of the *Swiſs* was no longer of ſuch Neceſſity to him, ſince he had alſo reſolved, beſides the Troops he was to have from the *Valleſe* and *Griſons*, to hire a Body of *German* Infantry; and he was not under much Apprehenſion of any Movement from *Swiſſerland*, becauſe he did not believe that the Dutchy of *Milan* could be invaded but by the Way of *Bellinzone*, and other very narrow Paſſes, in which a ſmall Number might eaſily reduce a great Multitude to Straits for Want of Proviſions; and if the Enemy came but in a ſmall Number, a like Number was ſufficient to make them retire. *A. D.* 1510.

THE

D. A. 1510.

THE King of *France* continuing thus obſtinately reſolved not to augment the Penſions of the *Swiſs*, he could not obtain, in the general Aſſembly of that Nation, a Renewal of their Confederacy with him, tho' it was ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on by many of their Number, who were ſenſible how much it tended to their Private Advantage. The ſame Reaſon diſpoſed the *Swiſs* the more readily to enter into the Confederacy demanded by the Pope, who flattered himſelf that by this Step he had laid a great Foundation for his Projects. Beſides this, as he ever acted in an arbitrary Manner, and as if all were bound to follow his Dictates, he gave Occaſion for a new Quarrel with the Duke of *Ferrara*, it being uncertain whether he was really incited by the Subject that came in Diſpute between them, or highly reſented that the Duke, unmindful of ſo many Favours and Honours, which he had received from him, had choſen rather to depend on the King of *France* than on himſelf. Whatever was the Cauſe that gave Beginning to the Controverſy,

verſy, the Pope imperiouſly commanded *Alfonſo* to deſiſt from making of Salt at *Comacchio*; for ſince he had not been allowed to work on the Salt Pits when the *Venetians* were in Poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, it was not reaſonable he ſhould enjoy that Privilege now that Town was reduced under Obedience of the Pontiff, who was Lord Paramount both of *Ferrara* and *Comacchio*. This was an intereſting Affair on account of the Profits, for when no Salt was made at *Comacchio*, many of the circumjacent Towns were ſupplied with that uſeful Commodity from the Salt-works of *Cervia*. But *Alfonſo*, who confided more in the Friendſhip and Protection of the King of *France*, than he ſtood in Awe of the Pope's Power, remonſtrating that it was very hard that he ſhould be debarred from gathering the Fruits of his own Land, which coſt him but very little Trouble, and that he ſhould be forced to purchaſe of others, for the Uſe of his own People, a Commodity with which he was able to ſupply foreign Countries, and that an Impoſition to which the *Venetians*, not with Juſtice but

A. D. 1510. Pope differs with the Duke of *Ferrara*.

by

A. D. 1510. by Arms, had induced him to give his Conſent, ought not to paſs into an Example, refuſed to obey the Commands of his Holineſs, who then ſent him a poſitive Injunction to deſiſt under grievous Pains and Cenſures.

SUCH were the Schemes and Practices of the Pontiff, who was intent, with all his Mind, on raiſing the *Venetians*. On the other Side the King of the *Romans* and the King of *France* were as much bent on their Depreſſion; and being much diſſatisfied at thoſe Marks of Favour which the Pope had ſhown them, entered into the ſtricter Union, and agreed this Summer to attack the *Venetians* with mighty Forces. On one Side the King of *France* was to order *Chaumont* to march with a potent Army, which was to be joined by the *German* Foot that were in *Verona*. On another Quarter *Cæſar* was to act with thoſe Troops which he was in hopes to obtain from the Empire in the Diet of *Auſburg*, and enter *Friuli*, and after he had conquered that Province to go upon ſome other Enterpriſe as Time and

and Opportunity offered. They required the Pope to concur with them, as being obliged by the League of *Cambray* to join his Forces with theirs. But his Holineſs, who was utterly averſe to ſuch a Step, anſwered in plain Terms, that he was not bound to continue in a Confederacy, which had already attained its End; ſince it had been in *Cæſar*'s Power firſt to take Poſſeſſion of *Trevigi*, and ſince that to accept of a Recompenſe in Money. *Maximilian* uſed alſo his Sollicitations with the Catholic King for Supplies, pleading the ſame Obligations of *Cambray*, and the particular Agreement made with himſelf when he conſented to his aſſuming the Government of *Caſtile*; and at the ſame time prayed him to furniſh his Quota rather in Money than Troops. But that King not being diſpoſed to ſupply him with what he moſt wanted, promiſed to ſend him Four Hundred Lances, a Succour of little Uſe to *Cæſar*, becauſe both his own and the *French* Army abounded in Cavalry. *A. D.* 1510.

ABOUT this Time the City of *Verona* being

A. D. 1510. being much plagued with the Soldiers that were in Garriſon, for want of their Pay, the *Venetian* Troops, privately ſent for by ſome Officers, ſet out from *San Bonifacio*, and approached the City by Night, with an Intent to ſcale *Caſtel San Piero*. They entered by the Gate of *San Giorgio*, where while they ſpent too much Time in joining the Ladders, which were not long enough to reach the Height of the Walls, either being perceived by ſome of the Garriſon of *San Felice*, or fancying they heard a Noiſe, they were ſtruck with a ſudden Conſternation, and fled out of the Place, leaving their Ladders behind them. The Army then returned to *San Bonifacio*, and the Plot being diſcovered, many of the Conſpirators were puniſhed.

Attempt of the *Venetians* on *Verona* miſcarries.

The Pope at this Time was inclined to a Reconciliation with the King of *France*, to which he was induced not out of Good-will but thro' Fear, for *Maximilian* had preſumptuouſly demanded that he would lend him Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats, threatening otherwiſe

to

to join with the King of *France* againſt him; and alſo becauſe it was reported that the Diet at *Auſburg* had reſolved to grant *Cæſar* conſiderable Supplies, and that the Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England* was now renewed and publiſhed with great Solemnity. His Holineſs therefore began to hold ſecret Conferences with *Alberto da Carpi*, whom he had hitherto treated only with fair Speeches, and given him general Hopes. But he did not long perſevere in that Mind, for the Diet of *Auſburg*, without whoſe Forces the Menaces of *Cæſar* were of no Eſtimation, did not any way anſwer Expectation, but reſolved only on granting an Aid of Three Hundred Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins, a good Part of which had been already ſpent upon the Credit of what was expected to be raiſed; and the King of *England* had ſignified to him by Letter, that an Article in the Peace was inſerted, by which the Treaty was to be conſidered as null, if at any time the King of *France* ſhould moleſt the State of the Church. A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510.

ON theſe Advices the Pontiff reſumed his Courage, and returned to his firſt Projects; he pretended to have a new Subject of Complaint againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, for his having, after the Navigation of the Gulf had been declared free, laid new Duties on Goods carried to *Venice* by way of the River *Po*. The Pontiff alledged that, according to the Diſpoſition of the Laws, it was not in the Power of a Vaſſal to lay any Duties without Leave firſt obtained from the Lord of the Fee, and that theſe Duties were very prejudicial to the *Bologneſe* his Subjects, and made Inſtances to have them taken off, threatening otherwiſe to do himſelf Juſtice by Force of Arms; and, to ſtrike the greater Fear into the Duke, he ordered ſome of his Men at Arms to march into the Territory of *Bologna*, and into *Romagna*.

New Diſputes between the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*.

THE King of *France* found himſelf much embarraſſed at theſe Proceedings; for on one hand he was very loth to incur the Enmity of the Pope, and on the other he was moved, by a Senſe of Honour,

not to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he had obliged himſelf to protect, in conſideration of Thirty Thouſand Ducats which he had received. He was no leſs affected with a Regard to his own Intereſt; for *Alfonſo* wholly depended on him, and the more he ſaw himſelf perſecuted by the Pope, the more firmly was he attached to his Devotion; and his State lying very commodious with regard to the Affairs of *Lombardy*, the King thought himſelf obliged, in Point of Intereſt as well as of Honour, to preſerve him. For this End he interpoſed his Mediation with the Pope, in order to find ſome Means for an Agreement. But the Pontiff thought it juſt that the Duke ſhould be excluded from the royal Protection, alledging that it was granted him contrary to the Articles of *Cambray*, in one of which, made on purpoſe for reinſtating the Church in what had been wreſted from it, it was ſtipulated, that no one of the Confederates ſhould take under his Protection thoſe that were nominated by another, and that he himſelf had nominated the Duke of *Ferrara*; and moreover that it was forbidden

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King of *France* interpoſes his Mediation.

A. D. 1510. by the Treaty for any one of the Confederates to intermeddle in Affairs belonging to the Church: That the ſame was alſo confirmed by the particular Confederacy between the King and himſelf at *Biagraſſa*, in which it was expreſſly mentioned that the King ſhould withdraw his Protection from all States or Dependents on the Church, and ſhould not give it to any ſuch for the future. To theſe Allegations tho' it had been anſwered, on the Part of the King, that by the ſame Convention his Majeſty was to have the Collation of the Biſhoprics on this Side the Mountains at his own Diſpoſal, yet the Pope violated that Article on the firſt Vacancy, and that he had infringed alſo the Articles of *Cambray* in favour of the *Venetians*, for which Reaſons it was lawful for the King not to obſerve the Promiſes he had made him; yet his Majeſty, to avoid coming to a Rupture with the Pope, for maintaining the Intereſts of the Duke of *Ferrara*, propoſed Conditions, by which, without entirely or directly contravening his own Honour, the Pontiff might reſt ſatisfied as to the greater Part of

of the Claims which he and the Church pretended to have upon Duke *Alfonſo*; and was further willing to oblige himſelf, that, according to the Pope's Requeſt, the *French* Troops ſhould not paſs the River *Po*, except for the Protection of the *Florentines*, to which they were bound; or to call to an Account *Pandolfo Petrucci* and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, on Pretence of Money promiſed by the one, and intercepted by the other. *A. D.* 1510.

WHILE theſe Things paſſed, *Chaumont*, at the Head of Fifteen Hundred Lances, and Ten Thouſand Foot of different Nations, among whom were ſome *Swiſs*, privately liſted, and not by Leave from the Cantons, followed by a numerous Train of Artillery, with Three Thouſand Pioneers, and Pontons for paſſing Rivers, and joined by the Duke of *Ferrara* with Two Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot, had taken Poſſeſſion of the Poleſine of *Rovigo* without Oppoſition, which had been abandoned by the *Venetians*. He next made himſelf Maſter Progreſs of the Confederate Army againſt the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1510. of the Tower of *Marcheſana*, ſituated on the Bank of the *Adice* towards *Padoua*. Thence he proceeded to *Caſtel Baldo*, and got ſurrendered to him, at the firſt Summons, the Towns of *Montagnana* and *Eſti*, one of which belonged to *Alfonſo d' Eſte* by Donation from *Maximilian*, and the other was mortgaged to him by that Prince as Security for Money lent. But as ſoon as *Alfonſo* had recovered thoſe Places, he ſent back the greateſt Part of his own Troops, on a Pretence that ſome Galleys of the *Venetians* were coming up the *Po*. *Chaumont* was joined in the Poleſine by the Prince of *Anhalt*, Lieutenant General to *Cæſar*, from *Verona*, with Three Hundred *French* Lances, Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thouſand *German* Foot, who followed, keeping always a Day's March behind. The Army then leaving behind them *Monſelice*, which was poſſeſſed by the *Venetians*, came into the Territory of *Vicenza*, when *Lunigo* and the whole Country ſubmitted without Oppoſition. For the *Venetian* Army, which was ſaid to conſiſt of Six Hundred Men at Arms, Four Thou-

Thouſand light Horſe and Stradiotti, and Eight Thouſand Foot, under *Gian Pagolo Baglione* Governor, and *Andrea Gritti* Proveditor, marched from *Soave*, and as the Enemy advanced continually retired before them into Places of Security, till at laſt having put a ſufficient Garriſon into *Trevigi*, and poſted One Thouſand Foot at *Meſtre*, they retired to the *Brentella*, a Place three Miles from *Padoua*, and ſtrongly ſituated for a Camp, becauſe the Country is full of ſloping Banks, and this Place in particular ſurrounded with the Waters of three Rivers, the *Brenta*, *Brentella*, and *Bacchiglione*. The *Vicentines*, by the Retreat of the *Venetian* Army, finding themſelves wholly abandoned, and being incapable of making any Defence, had no Hopes left but in the Mercy of the Conquerors; and truſting that they might the more eaſily obtain it by the Mediation of *Chaumont*, they ſent to demand of him a ſafe Conduct for their Ambaſſadors, whom they had appointed to wait on him and the Prince of *Anhalt*. This being granted, the Ambaſſadors appeared before the two Generals at the

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Vicenza ſubmits to the Confederates.

A. D. 1510. Bridge of *Barberano*, about ten Miles from *Vicenza*, in a miſerable Dreſs, and full of Fear and Aſtoniſhment, where, in the Preſence of all the Officers and principal Men of the Armies, the Head of the Embaſſy ſpoke, as it is ſaid, after this Manner:

Speech of a *Vicentine* Ambaſſador to the Generals.

"WERE it known to every one what the City of *Vicenza*, formerly the Envy of many of its neighbouring Cities for its Riches and Felicity, has ſuffered ſince, by the Error and Folly of Men, and perhaps more by a certain fatal Diſpoſition than by any other Cauſe, it returned under the Dominion of the *Venetians*, with the infinite and intolerable Damages it has received; we could aſſure ourſelves, moſt invincible Captains, that your Hearts would be rather touched with a tender Commiſeration of our Miſeries, than moved with Indignation and Hatred at the Remembrance of a Rebellion, if we may deſervedly give the Name of Rebellion to the Error of that Night, in which our People ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment, when the *Venetian* Army forced the

the Suburb of the *Poſterla*, ſent forth Ambaſſadors to make an Agreement with them, not with an Intention to rebel, or to ſhake off the gentle Yoke of *Cæſar*; but to prevent their City from Plunder and the worſt of Evils. What principally prevailed upon our People, unaccuſtomed to Arms and the Dangers of War, to take this Step, was the Authority of *Fracaſſa*, who, being an Officer of long Experience, and in *Cæſar*'s Pay, whether out of Fraud or Fear is not our Buſineſs to enquire, adviſed us to provide for the Safety of our Wives and Children, and of our afflicted Country, by means of an Agreement. Hence it is evident that not any Malignity or Diſaffection, but Fear, heightened by the Authority of ſuch a Commander, was the true Cauſe, not that determined, but rather that, in a ſhort Space of Time, in ſo great a Tumult, amidſt the Claſh of Weapons, and the Thunder of the Cannon, Noiſes to which our Ears had never been accuſtomed, precipitated our Surrender to the *Venetians*, whoſe Forces and Fortune were not of that Conſideration as of themſelves to in-

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. vite us to it. And how great a Difference there is between Faults committed thro' Fear or Miſtake, and Offences that proceed from Fraud, and an evil Intention, every one muſt be ſenſible. But even ſuppoſing that it was not our Fear but Inclination that prompted us to Rebellion, and that it was with the univerſal Conſent and Concurrence of all the People, and not rather, in ſo great a Confuſion, the Act and audacious Attempt of a Few not oppoſed by the reſt, and that the Offences of this unhappy City are of all others the moſt inexcuſable, yet ſuch have been our Calamities ſince that Time, that we may truly ſay that our Repentance has without Compariſon attoned for our Offence. For within our Walls we have been miſerably plundered and devoured by the Soldiers appointed for our Guard, and who can be ignorant of what our Territory has ſuffered in a continual War? What have we left? All the Houſes on our Eſtates are burnt, all our Trees cut down, and our Stock of Cattle deſtroyed; for two Seaſons we have not been able to gather our Harveſt, and the Sowing of

our

our Seed has in a great Meaſure been obſtructed; ſo that we are deprived of our Revenues, of our Profits, and of all Hopes that this ruined Country can ever recover itſelf. We are reduced to ſo great Straits, and in ſuch Miſery, that all our Stores, and whatever we had ſecreted, to ſuſtain our Lives, and to ſupply all the infinite but neceſſary Expences, being exhauſted, we are at a Loſs to know how, for the future, to provide Bread for ourſelves and our Families. Let the moſt cruel and inveterate of our Enemies, who has ſeen our Country in its former State, come and take a View of it in its preſent Condition, and we are ſatisfied that he will not abſtain from ſhedding Tears; when he conſiders that this City, which, tho' ſmall in Compaſs, was ever full of People, had a pompous and grand Appearance, was beautified with ſuperb and coſtly Edifices, the continual Reſort of Foreigners; a City where nothing was minded but Feaſting, Tilting, and Pleaſures, is now, alas! become in a manner deſtitute of Inhabitants, her Ladies and Gentlemen appearing in the meaneſt Dreſſes, not a Houſe open, nor

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A. D. 1510. a Houſekeeper that can promiſe himſelf a Sufficiency to maintain himſelf and his Family for a ſingle Month. Inſtead of magnificent Shows, Feaſtings, and Pleaſures, you ſee and hear nothing but Miſeries, public Lamentations of all Sorts of People, and the doleful Cries and Wailings of Women bemoaning themſelves in all our Streets. And yet the Weight of our Afflictions would ſtill ſit heavier, and ſink us into Deſpair, did we not remember, moſt glorious Prince of *Anhalt*, that on your Will depends either the utter Deſolation of our forlorn and diſtreſſed Country, or our Hope, that, under the Shadow of *Cæſar*, thro' the wiſe and merciful Adminiſtration of your Highneſs, it may, we cannot ſay revive and recover itſelf, for that is impoſſible, but that, ſtruggling through all Extremities to the End of our Lives, we may at leaſt be redeemed from preſent Deſtruction; and this we have Reaſon to hope from your known Integrity and Humanity, it being probable that you ſtudy to imitate *Cæſar*, of whoſe Gentleneſs and Clemency all *Europe* abounds with Examples. Our Subſtance

ſtance is waſted, all our Expectations are at an End, we have nothing left but our Lives and our Perſons, on which to exerciſe Vengeance and Cruelty, what Profit would it be to *Cæſar*, or what Praiſe to yourſelf? Permit us Supplicants to addreſs your Highneſs with our moſt humble Prayers, which you are to ſuppoſe accompanied with the Lamentations of all Ages, Sexes, and Ranks in our City, that you would be pleaſed that poor unfortunate *Vicenza* might be an Example to all others of the Mildneſs of the *German* Government; that you would reſemble in Clemency and Magnanimity the noble Spirit of your Anceſtors, who after their Victories in *Italy* preſerved the conquered Cities, chuſing many of them for their own Reſidence. From them, to the great Honour of the *German* Blood, deſcended ſo many illuſtrious Families in *Italy*, as thoſe of *Gonzaga*, *Carrara*, and *Scala*, our antient Lords. And at the ſame Time let *Vicenza* be an Example that the *Venetians*, whom we have aſſiſted and ſupported even in their ſmalleſt Dangers, have ſhamefully abandoned us in A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. in our greateſt Diſtreſs when they were bound to defend us; and that the *Germans*, who had ſome Cauſe to be offended with us, have glorioufly condeſcended to our Preſervation. Do you, O moſt invincible *Chaumont*, vouchſafe to take us under your Protection, and call to mind the Example of your royal Maſter, whoſe Clemency exerciſed towards the *Milaneſe* and *Genoeſe*, who had voluntarily rebelled without any Cauſe or Neceſſity, got the better of their Offences and of his Indignation; and thoſe People, having obtained a full Pardon, have, in Gratitude for ſo great a Benefit, ever ſince continued his moſt devoted and faithful Subjects. If the Preſervation of *Vicenza*, O Prince of *Anhalt*, be of no Service to *Cæſar*, it will at leaſt be for his Glory, and our City will remain a Monument of his Mercy. Our Deſtruction can be of no Advantage to his Affairs, but all *Italy* will be moved at our Oppreſſion. Clemency will univerſally endear the Name of *Cæſar*, and as in military Operations, and the Conduct of Armies, he reſembles the antient *Cæſar*, ſo will he alſo in his Clemency,

mency, by which that Hero was extolled to the Skies, and acquired to himſelf a more glorious and laſting Name than by his Atchievements in War. Behold, Prince, the Fate of *Vicenza*, that antient and famous City, that was lately the Reſidence of ſo many Noblemen, is in your Breaſt; from you ſhe expects her Preſervation or Deſtruction, her Life or Death. May you take Compaſſion on ſo many innocent People, ſo many unfortunate Women and helpleſs Children, who had no Concern in the Madneſs and Blunders of that calamitous Night, and now with Wailings and Lamentations expect your Reſolution. Let us but hear the welcome Voice of Mercy and Clemency, and our drooping Country ſhall revive, and forever call you its Father and Preſerver." A. D. 1510.

But neither this tender Speech, nor a compaſſionate Regard to the unhappy Citizens, could in the leaſt ſoften the Spirit of the Prince of *Anhalt*, who, with the Inſolence of a Barbarian, and the Cruelty of a *German*, could not forbear ſhewing

A. D. 1510. ſhewing the ſame Brutality in his Words as in his Actions, and therefore returned a moſt inhuman Anſwer, which a Civilian, his Auditor, by his Commandment, pronounced in the following Words:

Anſwer of the Prince of *Anhalt*. THINK not, ye Rebels of *Vicenza*, that your fine and flattering Speeches can efface the Memory of your Offences committed in high Contempt of the Authority of *Cæſar*, when, without any Regard to his Majeſty, or his gracious Acceptance of your Submiſſion, by Combination and Conſent of your whole City, ye invited within your Walls the *Venetian* Army. Thoſe Troops having, with the greateſt Difficulty, made themſelves Maſters of the Suburb, and deſpairing after to force the Town, had reſolved to march off; but you were ſo malignant and audacious, that, in ſpite of all the Oppoſition made by the Prince who was entruſted with the Power and Authority of *Cæſar*, you conſtrained him to retire into the Caſtle, and with Hearts full of Rage and Venom ſeized upon *Cæſar*'s

Cæſar's Artillery and Stores, and tore in Pieces the Standards which he had diſplayed in ſo many Battles, and carried before him in ſo many Triumphs. Theſe Things were done, not by the *Venetian* Soldiers, but by the People of *Vicenza*, by which they diſcovered their immoderate Thirſt after the Blood of the *Germans*. It was not for want of Perfidy in you, that the *Venetians* did not lay hold of the Opportunity, in the Career of their Succeſs, to ſeize on *Verona*. It is in vain to plead in your Defence the Advice and Perſuaſions of *Fracaſſa*, who has been falſly calumniated by you, and made his Innocence fully appear. No, it was the ſole Reſult of your own Malignity and Hatred, which, for no Reaſon, you have conceived againſt the Name of the *Germans*. Your Offences are inexcuſable, they are even ſo great that they deſerve no Forgiveneſs. It would not only be highly prejudicial but blameable to exerciſe Clemency towards you; for we know very well that you wait for nothing but an Opportunity to be guilty of worſe Offences. Yours are not Errors, they are

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. are Wickedneſſes, and the Loſſes you have received are not to be reckoned on the Score of Repentance for your Miſdeeds, but becauſe you had choſen contumaciouſly to perſevere in your Rebellion; and now you are abandoned by the *Venetians*, and have no Means left to defend yourſelves, you fly for Refuge to the Pity and Compaſſion of *Cæſar*, which you have lately abuſed. The Prince had reſolved not to hear you; ſuch was the Intention and Commiſſion of *Cæſar*, but he could not deny you an Audience on *Chaumont*'s Requeſt. Take notice, however, that the Sentence which, from the Day of your Rebellion, has been ever fixed in the Mind of *Cæſar*, is unalterable, and ſtands thus: The Prince will not receive you but on Condition of ſurrendering your Eſtates, Lives, and Honours to his Diſcretion. Nor flatter yourſelves that he requires all this, that he may have the more Room to exerciſe his Clemency, for it is with a Deſign that he may with the greater Liberty make you an Example of the Puniſhment due to all ſuch Wretches

Wretches as have wickedly violated their Faith to their Sovereign.". *A. D.* 1510.

AN Anſwer ſo atrocious aſtoniſhed the *Vicentines*, who ſtood for ſome time like Statues, or People bereaved of their Senſes. At laſt they began anew with Tears and Lamentations to implore the Mercy of the Conqueror. But being checked by the ſame Auditor, and reprimanded in Words more barbarous and inhuman than the firſt, they had been utterly at a Loſs what to ſay or think, had not *Chaumont* encouraged and adviſed them to give Way to Neceſſity, and, by a free Submiſſion to the Will and Pleaſure of the Prince, endeavour to appeaſe his Indignation. *Cæſar*, he told them, was of a very gentle Diſpoſition, and it was not to be imagined that a Prince of ſuch noble Blood, and an excellent General, would do any Thing unworthy of his Birth or Valour: That they ought not to terrify themſelves with the Sharpneſs of the Anſwer, ſince it was rather to be wiſhed that generous and noble Spirits would tranſport themſelves to a furious Extravagance in Words, for

A. D. 1510. it often happens that by diſcharging Part of their Indignation in this Manner, they become leſs rigid and ſevere in their Actions. He then offered to be their Interceſſor, for mitigating the Anger of the Prince, after they had firſt made their free Submiſſion as required. The *Vicentines* took his Advice, and compelled by Neceſſity proſtrated themſelves to the Earth, and made an abſolute Surrender of themſelves and of their City into the Power of the Conqueror. *Chaumont* then took upon himſelf to ſpeak, and adviſed the Prince, in puniſhing the *Vicentines*, to regard rather the Greatneſs and Reputation of *Cæſar* than their Demerits; and to be cautious of ſhewing an Example to others who had fallen, or might hereafter fall into the like Errors, which might induce them, from a Deſpair of obtaining Forgiveneſs, to perſevere in them with the utmoſt Obſtinacy: Clemency, he ſaid, had always procured Benevolence and Reputation to Princes, but that Cruelty, where it was not neceſſary, had conſtantly produced a contrary Effect, and did not remove,

Vicentines ſubmit at Diſcretion

as

as ſome iuprudently imagined, Difficulties and Impediments, but increaſed, and rendered them more formidable. The Authority of *Chaumont* had ſuch an Effect, that, in conjunction with the Entreaties of many others, added to the miſerable Lamentations of the *Vicentines*, *Anhalt* at laſt condeſcended to promiſe that their Perſons ſhould be ſafe, but they were to leave all their Subſtance to his free and abſolute Diſpoſal. But the Prey came far ſhort of Expectation, for the City was left almoſt deſtitute of Goods as well as of Inhabitants. But the barbarous *Germans* being on the Search, and informed that Numbers of the Citizens and Peaſants, with their Effects, had taken Shelter in a certain Mountain near to *Vicenza*, within two Caverns called the *Grotta* of *Maſano*, where from the Strength of the Place, and the Difficulty of the Entrance, they thought themſelves in Security, they went to plunder them; and having attacked the greater Cavern in vain, and not without ſome Loſs, they removed to the leſſer; but not being able to force an Entrance they made very large Fires, and got

D. A. 1510.

A. D. 1510. poſſeſſion of it by means of the Smoke, where, as it is reported, above One Thouſand Perſons periſhed *.

VICENZA being taken, the Generals found greater Difficulties in proſecuting their Enterpriſes than they had at firſt foreſeen. For *Maximilian* had not taken the Field againſt the *Venetians*, as he had promiſed, and his Troops were continually diminiſhing for want of Pay, ſo that *Chaumont* was obliged to turn all his Thoughts on providing for the Defence of *Vicenza*; and yet being ſenſible that all he had hitherto done was of no Signification unleſs he made himſelf alſo Maſter of *Lignago*, he reſolved to undertake the Siege of that Place. The River *Adice* paſſes through the Town of *Lignago*, the leſſer Part of which lying towards *Montagnana* is called *Porto*, where the *Venetians*, not confiding ſo much in the Strength of the Town, or in the Bravery of the Defendants, as in obſtructing the Approaches of Beſiegers by means of the Water,

* Theſe Caverns are divided into Vaults in manner of a Labyrinth, and were made by digging out the Stones for building. *Bembo.*

Water, had cut the River in one Place; and had made two other Cuts in the Bank on which the greater Part of the Town is ſituated, through which Breaches the River diſperſing itſelf into ſeveral Branches, overflowed the lower Grounds, and covered the Country around in ſuch a Manner, that lying under Water for many Months together, it was become like a Moraſs. But the Raſhneſs and Diſorder of the *Venetian* Troops in ſome meaſure facilitated the Enterpriſe. For *Chaumont* coming with his Army to take up his Quarters at *Minerbio*, three Miles diſtant from *Lignago*, ordered forward ſome of his Horſe and Foot, who, in paſſing the laſt Branch of the overflowing River, half a Mile from *Lignago*, were attacked by the Garriſon of *Porto*, which had marched out to diſpute the Paſſage. But the *Gaſcon* and *Spaniſh* Foot boldly entered the Waters, up to their Breaſt, and repulſing the Enemy, purſued them with ſuch Fury that they entered together with them into *Porto*. Few of the *Venetians* eſcaped, for beſides thoſe that were killed in the Fight, moſt of the reſt endeavour-

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. ing to retire into *Lignago* were drowned in paſſing the *Adice*. On this Succeſs *Chaumont* changed his Deſign of quartering at *Minerbio*, and took up his Lodgings the ſame Night in *Porto*; and having hailed along the heavy Cannon under the Water, the firm Bottom of the Soil ſuſtaining their Weight, the ſame Night he ordered the Breach of the River to be ſtopped by the Pioneers. He was ſenſible that *Lignago* was impregnable if the Siege was made only from the Side of *Porto*, becauſe of the Breadth of the River, which was ſo great that the Town could hardly be battered from that Quarter, notwithſtanding the Stream is not ſo wide between the Slopes of the Banks from *Lignago* to *Porto*, as it is below. He ordered therefore a Bridge to be laid for paſſing his Artillery and the greater Part of his Army. But finding the Boats he had with him were not ſufficient for conſtructing a Bridge over ſo wide a Stream, he encamped with his Army near the River, on the Side oppoſite to *Lignago*, and ordered General *Molard*, with Four Thouſand *Gaſcons* and Six Pieces of Cannon to paſs

paſs the *Adice* in the Boats. This done, he began, from both Sides of the River, to batter the Fort erected on the Riſing of the Bank, at the uppermoſt Point of the Town. Part of the Fort being ruined, tho' the Defendants did their utmoſt for repairing the Breaches, the next Night the *Venetian* Proveditor, in deſpair of defending the Place, retreated on a ſudden, with ſome *Venetian* Noblemen, into the Caſtle. As ſoon as it was Day the Governor finding himſelf abandoned by the Proveditor, ſurrendered the Fort to *Molard*, on condition that the Garriſon ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects; but as ſoon as they had marched out, they were diſarmed and ſtripped by the Soldiers of the Camp. The Fort being taken the Town was plundered, and the Garriſon of another Fort erected at the other Point of the Town abandoned it, and fled through the Marſhes, leaving their Arms where they entered the Waters. The Caſtle made no better Defence than the Town; for the next Day the Cannon having ruined the Works, and the Miners being ſet to work under an Angle of a Tower

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. in order to blow it up, the Beſieged capitulated on Articles, by which the *Venetian* Noblemen were to remain Priſoners to *Chaumont*, and the Soldiers to leave their Arms, and march off in their Waiſtcoats. Thus, by the Cowardice of the Defendants, was *Lignago* reduced with more Eaſe and Speed than had been imagined. But Fortune took care to allay the Joy of *Chaumont* on theſe happy Succeſſes by the diſagreeable News of the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, his Uncle, by whoſe prevailing Intereſt with the King of *France* he had been exalted to very great Riches and Honours, and was in continual Expectation of greater Favours. In *Lignago*, where the *Germans* were incapable of putting any Troops, *Chaumont* left a Garriſon of One Hundred Lances and One Thouſand Foot, and after he had diſmiſſed the *Griſon* and *Valleſe* Infantry, was preparing to return with the Remainder of the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Orders of his King, who was unwilling to be any longer at ſuch vaſt Expences, which produced no important Advantage, becauſe the Proviſions made

Lignago taken.

Death of the Cardinal of Rouen.

on

on the Part of *Cæſar* were no way anſwerable to the Reſolutions that had been taken. The King however afterwards ordered *Chaumont* to keep the Field during the whole Month of *June*, becauſe *Cæſar*, who was arrived at *Inſpruck*, full, as uſual, of Difficulties as well as of Hopes and Deſigns, made Inſtances with his Majeſty not to withdraw his Forces, continually promiſing to paſs directly into *Italy*. *A. D.* 1519.

At this time the *Germans* being deſirous to recover *Maroſtico*, *Cittadella*, *Baſciano*, and the circumjacent Towns, in order to facilitate the Paſſage of *Cæſar*, on that Side, *Chaumont* encamped with his Army at *Lungara* on the River *Bacchiglione*, to prevent the *Venetians* from taking *Vicenza*, which had but a ſmall Garriſon, and making any Oppoſition to the *Germans*. But on Advice that the *Venetian* Army was retired into *Padoua*, he again joined the *German* Forces, and proceeded with them to *Torricelle* on the main Road that goes from *Vicenza* to *Padoua*; but leaving *Padoua* on the right Hand, they continued their March to

Progreſs of the Armies againſt the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1510. to *Cittadella*, labouring under no ſmall Inconveniency for want of Proviſions, which were intercepted by the Enemy's light Horſe from *Padoua*, and much more by the Garriſon of *Monſelice*. *Cittadella* ſurrendered without Reſiſtance, as did afterwards *Maroſtico*, *Baſciano*, and the circumjacent Towns, which were abandoned by the *Venetians*. The Armies, having done their Buſineſs on that Side, returned to *Torricelle*; and leaving *Padoua* on the right Hand, they fetched a Compaſs to the left towards the Mountain, and encamped on the *Brenta*, by the Side towards the Mountain, ten Miles from *Vicenza*. They proceeded to this Poſt, becauſe the *Germans* were deſirous of poſſeſſing *Scala*, which was a very commodious Paſs for thoſe Troops that were expected from *Germany*, and the only Town that, from *Trevigi* to *Vicenza*, was in the Hands of the *Venetians*. From theſe Quarters the Prince of *Anhalt*, with the *Germans* and One Hundred *French* Lances, ſet out towards *Scala*, which was a March of twenty-five Miles; but was prevented in his Progreſs by the Peaſants; who

who had ſeized on many Paſſes in the Mountains, and were ſo incredibly zealous in their Affections to the *Venetians*, that when any were made Priſoners they choſe rather to die, than to abjure or blaſpheme their Government. The Prince, after taking poſſeſſion of *Caſtel Nuovo*, a Paſs in the ſame Mountain, which ſurrendered upon Articles, returned to his Quarters at *Brenta*, after ordering a good Body of Foot to march towards *Scala* by another Way. Theſe Troops leaving the Road of *Baſciano*, in order to avoid *Covolo*, a ſtrong Paſs in thoſe Mountains, fetched a Compaſs lower down by the Road of *Feltro*, and finding it almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants, they plundered and burnt it, and thence proceeded to the Paſs of *Scala*, which, as well as *Covolo*, they found quite abandoned. A. D. 1510.

In the mean time the Country of *Friuli* ſuffered no leſs Damages, for being attacked ſometimes by the *Venetians*, at other times by the *Germans*, and now defended, then pillaged by the Gentlemen of the Country, while ſome were getting Ground, Miſerable State of *Friuli*.

A. D. 1510 Ground, others on the Retreat, nothing was to be ſeen but Slaughters, Plunders, and Burnings over the Face of the whole Province. And it often happened that the ſame Place, which had been firſt pillaged by one Party, was afterwards pillaged and burnt by the other; ſo that, except a very few Places of Strength, there was not a Town or a Village which was ſecured from ſuffering ſome miſerable Deſtruction. But as no remarkable Action happened all this while, it would be tedious to recapitulate all the little Turns and Varieties of Fortune between the Parties, ſince they were but of ſmall Importance, nor any way conducive to a Deciſion of the War.

New Agreement between *Cæſar* and the King of *France*.

But now the Time appointed for the Departure of the *French* Troops approaching, *Cæſar* and the King of *France* came to a new Agreement, that the King's Army ſhould continue in the Field a Month longer, but that the extraordinary Expences, that is, thoſe which were neceſſary, beſides the Payment of the Troops, which had hitherto been born by the King,

King, ſhould for the future be diſcharged by *Cæſar*, as well as the Pay of the Foot for the Month aforeſaid. And becauſe that Prince wanted Money for theſe Purpoſes, a Calculation was made of thoſe Expences, and the ſame amounting to Fifty Thouſand Ducats, the King was to lend him that Sum, which if he did not repay within a Year next enſuing, together with another Fifty Thouſand Ducats which had been lent him before, the King was to keep poſſeſſion of *Verona*, and all its Territory, till he was reimburſed. *A. D.* 1510.

CHAUMONT, on receiving the King's Orders to ſuſpend his Departure, formed a Deſign upon *Monſelice*; for which End as ſoon as the *Germans* were joined by Four Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances, commanded by the Duke of *Termini*, and ſent by the Catholic King to the Aſſiſtance of *Maximilian*, tho' artfully retarded hitherto by very ſlow Marches, the Armies decamped and paſſed the River *Brenta*, and after that the *Bacchiglione* at the Village of *Purla*, about Five Miles from *Padoua*, from whence they arrived before

Proceedings of the Confederate Army.

A. D. 1510. before *Monſelice*, having in that time ſuffered greatly for want of Proviſions and Forage by the Excurſions of the Horſe from *Padoua* and *Monſelice*, in one of which was taken Priſoner *Soncino Benzone* of *Crema*, an Officer of the King of *France*, who with a few Horſe was gone out to meet the Eſcorts; and becauſe he had been the Author of the Revolt of *Crema*, *Andrea Gritti*, who accounted him more as a Subject of the *Venetians*, than as a Soldier of the Enemy, ordered him to be immediately hanged.

Deſcription of *Monſelice*.

In the Town of *Monſelice*, which is ſeated in a Plain, riſes a Rock in the nature of a Mountain, from which it is called *Monſelice*. This Rock has on its Top a Caſtle, and on the Riſing of the Hill, which gradually leſſens all the Way to the Summit, are three Precincts of Walls, the lowermoſt of which incloſes as much Space as would require Two Thouſand Men to defend it againſt a well appointed Army. The Town was immediately abandoned, and the *French* taking poſſeſſion of it, planted their Cannon

non againſt the firſt Precinct of Walls; and, after a warm Battery on ſeveral Sides, the *Spaniſh* and *Gaſcon* Foot began to approach the Wall in a diſorderly Manner, and attempted to leap into the Place in many Parts at once. The Garriſon, which conſiſted of Seven Hundred Foot, imagining that this was a regular Aſſault, and not being numerous enough to reſiſt an Attack in ſeveral Places at once, made but a weak Defence, and began to retire, purſuant, as it was thought, to a Reſolution they had before taken among themſelves. But they retreated in ſuch Diſorder, that the Enemy, who had already begun to enter the Place, and to ſkirmiſh with the Garriſon, followed them ſo cloſely, and preſſed upon them ſo vigorouſly, that they entered together with them into the other two Precincts of Walls, and from thence into the Caſtle of that Fortreſs, where they cut to Pieces the greater Part of the Garriſon, the reſt retiring into the Donjon, where they would have ſurrendered on condition of ſaving their Lives, but were not accepted by the *Germans*, who at laſt blew up the Donjon;

A. D. 1510.

Monſalice taken.

A. D. 1510. Donjon; ſo that of Seven Hundred Men, among whom were five Captains, and the Commander in chief, *Martino* of *Borgo a San Sepulchro* in *Tuſcany*, very few were ſaved, their Calamities meeting with the leſs Compaſſion on account of their Cowardice. Nor did the Cruelty of the *Germans* diſcharge itſelf with leſs Fury upon the Walls and Houſes, for they did not only ruin the Fortifications becauſe they could ſpare no Troops to garriſon them, but ſet Fire to the Town. After this the confederate Army did nothing worthy of Notice, except that a Party of Four Hundred *French* Lances ſcoured the Country up to the very Gates of *Padoua*.

THE Duke of *Ferrara* now left the Camp, and with him went alſo *Chatillon*, by Order of *Chaumont*, with Two Hundred and Fifty Lances for the Guard of *Ferrara*, which was thought to be in no ſmall Danger from the Neighbourhood of the Pope's Army. But the *Germans* were continually ſolliciting *Chaumont* to lay Siege to *Trevigi*, as it had been firſt concerted between them; repreſenting to him that all

all that they had done hitherto at ſo vaſt an Expence was of but little Importance without the Conqueſt of that City, for they had given over all Hopes of making themſelves Maſters of *Padoua*. But *Chaumont* anſwered that *Cæſar* had not paſſed into *Italy* againſt the *Venetians* with thoſe Forces which he had promiſed, and that thoſe Troops of his which had acted in conjunction with the *French* were reduced to a ſmall Number; that *Trevigi* had a numerous Garriſon, and was very ſtrongly fortified; that no Proviſions were to be had in the Country, and it was very difficult to convey them from far diſtant Places to the Camp, on account of the continual Moleſtations from the Enemy's light Horſe and Stradiotti, who, by the Diligence of the Peaſants, were informed of the leaſt Motion they made, and were ſo numerous that they ſhewed themſelves in every Place where they were capable of doing any Damage. The Arrival of freſh Orders to *Chaumont* from *France* put an End to theſe Diſputes. They contained Directions for that General to leave with the *Germans* 400 Lances and 1500 *Spaniſh* Infantry, to be

A. D. 1510.

Armies ſeparate.

A. D. 1510. be paid by the King, beſides thoſe that were in Garriſon at *Lignago*, and to return with the Army immediately into the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the Clouds ſeemed to be gathering, and a Multitude of Troubles and Dangers began already to diſcloſe themſelves, which were raiſed by the Inſtigation of the Pope. *Chaumont* therefore, leaving the Command of thoſe Troops to Monſ. *Perſi*, followed the Orders of the King; and the *Germans*, not thinking themſelves capable of effecting any thing of Importance, went into Quarters at *Lunigo*.

Pope meditates the Expulſion of the *French* from *Italy*.

THE Pontiff had propoſed to himſelf, and pertinaciouſly perſiſted in employing all his Thoughts, not only to reinſtate the Church in the Poſſeſſion of many States which, as he pretended, did belong to it, but alſo to to drive the King of *France* out of all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*. What animated him againſt the King was either an old and private Enmity which he had conceived againſt him, or becauſe the Jealouſy which he had entertained of him, was in a Courſe of ſo many Years converted into a perfect Hatred; or elſe he

he was moved, as he ſaid himſelf afterwards, by an ambitious Deſire of the Glory of being the Deliverer of *Italy* from Barbarians. With this View he had abſolved the *Venetians* from their Cenſures. For this End he had eſtabliſhed a Correſpondence, and entered into a ſtrict Alliance, with the *Swiſs*; but pretending all the while, that he took theſe Meaſures more for his own Security, than with an Intention to moleſt others. For the ſame Purpoſes, when he found himſelf unable to ſeparate the Duke of *Ferrara* from the *French* Intereſt, he had reſolved to uſe his utmoſt Efforts to get poſſeſſion of his Dutchy, giving out that he had put his Troops in Motion only on account of the Differences concerning the Cuſtoms and the Salt-works. That he might not, however, totally diſcloſe his Intentions before Matters were better prepared for Execution, he treated continually with *Alberto Pio* about coming to an Agreement with the King of *France*. That Prince perſuading himſelf that his Holineſs differed with him only on account of the Protection which he had granted to the Duke of *Ferrara*, A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. and desirous by all means to avoid making him his Enemy, consented to enter into a new Convention with him, referring himself to the Articles of *Cambray*, in which it was expresly mentioned that not one of the Confederates should intrude himself into Affairs belonging to the Church; and now taking Care to insert such Words and Clauses, as that it might be lawful for the Pope to proceed against the Duke of *Ferrara* as far as regarded in particular the Customs and Salt-works, which were the only Points, as the King imagined, that his Holiness had in View; and therefore he interpreted the Obligation he lay under to protect the Duke, in such a Manner as to make it seem lawful for him to make such an Agreement *.

King of *France* seeks a Reconciliation with the Pope.

But the nearer the King condescended to the Pope's Demands, the farther did the Pope stand off, and keep at a Distance: Nor was he in any respect the more pliable by

The Pope averse to an Agreement.

* The Desire of the King of *France* to avoid the Enmity of the Pope was much increased by the Intreaties of Queen *Anne*, his Consort, a good and pious Lady, who being with Child was in fear that she should miscarry if the King came to a Rupture with his Holiness.

by the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen*; for to thoſe who exhorted him to think of Peace, ſince all Occaſions of Jealouſy were now removed, he anſwered, that the ſame King was living, and therefore the ſame Cauſe of Jealouſy ſubſiſted; adding, in Confirmation of his Words, that he knew that the Agreement made by the Cardinal of *Pavia* had been broken by the King, of his own meer Motion, contrary to the Will and Advice of the Cardinal of *Rouen*. And indeed to thoſe who conſidered, with more than ordinary Attention, the Steps taken by the Pope, it appeared that his Spirits and Hopes were increaſed and enlivened on this Event; and not without Reaſon; For the King was of ſuch a Diſpoſition that he was fitter to receive than to give Directions in Matters of State; and it is not to be doubted but that the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen* much weakened his Adminiſtration, if we conſider that this Prelate, beſides his long Experience, was of extraordinary Merit, and bore a mighty Sway, and had ſo great an Authority with the King that his Counſel was almoſt conſtantly followed; hence, truſting to his

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. Merit, he frequently took upon him to reſolve in Matters of Importance, and to make ſuch Regulations in public Affairs as beſt ſuited his own Schemes. Theſe were Qualifications not to be found in any of thoſe that ſucceeded him in the Adminiſtration, who were ſo far from coming to a Reſolution of themſelves in Affairs concerning the State, that they durſt not even ſpeak to the King on ſuch Points as they knew would diſturb him. Nor did the King himſelf repoſe the ſame Confidence in their Advice; and the Affairs of the Public being now entruſted in the Hands of Many who were cautious of offending one another, and not conſideing in their new Authority, they proceeded with leſs Reſolution, and more Coolneſs than the Importance of the preſent Juncture required, or than was neceſſary to obviate the Ardor and Impetuoſity of the Pope. For his Holineſs would not accept of any of the Expedients propoſed by the King, but, at laſt, openly inſiſted that his Majeſty ſhould renounce, ſimply and abſolutely and without any Limitation, his Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*.

And

And when the King endeavoured to convince him that such a Renunciation would cast too much Infamy upon him; he answered in short, that since his Majesty refused to renounce simply, he would enter into no Agreement with him, nor yet act in Opposition to him, but would preserve himself free from all Obligations to any Person whatever, and quietly attend to the Defence of the State of the Church. He complained more than ever of the Duke of *Ferrara*; for being advised by his Friends to desist from making of Salt, he answered, that he could not follow their Counsel, because he was not willing to prejudice the Rights of the Empire, to which the Dominion of *Comacchio* directly belonged. A. D. 1510.

But, besides this, it was then thought, and in process of Time came to be firmly believed, that *Alberto Pio*, Ambassador of the King of *France*, did not discharge his Office with Fidelity, but exasperated the Pontiff against the Duke of *Ferrara* from an ardent Desire, in which he continued till his Death, that *Alfonso* should be deprived Ambassador abuses his Trust.

A. D. 1510. prived of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. For *Ercole*, the Father of *Alfonſo*, having, not many Years before, received of *Gilberto Pio* a Moiety of the Dominion of *Carpi*, for which he gave him in Compenſation the Caſtle of *Saſſuolo*, with ſome other Lands; *Alberto* was apprehenſive that, as it often happens for the weaker of two Neighbours to be forced to give way to the covetous Deſire of the ſtronger, he ſhould be obliged at laſt to make a Ceſſion of the other Moiety, which was his own Property. But be that as it will, the Pope ſhewed more Signs of an implacable Spirit againſt *Alfonſo*, and being determined to attack him by Force of Arms, he prepared for proceeding againſt him with Cenſures; and to juſtify his Meaſures he founded his Cauſe particularly on an Inveſtiture, which, he ſaid, he had found among the Writings of the Apoſtolic Chamber, containing the Grant of the Town of *Comacchio* by the Popes to the Houſe of *Eſte*.

These were the Pontiff's open and avowed Proceedings, while in ſecret he was forming Deſigns of much greater Undertakings.

Undertakings. And he flattered himſelf that he had laid a good Foundation for the Succeſs of his Schemes, ſince the *Swiſs* were his Friends and the *Venetians* were now on their Feet again, and at his Devotion; the King of *Arragon*, he knew, was inclined to enter into his Meaſures, or, at leaſt, was no hearty Ally to the King of *France*; *Cæſar* was ſo weak in Forces and Authority that he had no Reaſon to be afraid of him; and he was not without Hopes of ſtirring up the King of *England*. But what above all things increaſed and hardened his Spirit, which ought to have ſoftened it, was his knowing that the King of *France* had ſuch an Abhorrence of making War againſt the Church, that he deſired nothing ſo much as Peace; whence it was manifeſt that he would always have it in his Power to make an Agreement with that Monarch, even after he had taken up Arms againſt him. *A. D.* 1510. Pope encouraged in his Deſigns.

JULIUS, on theſe Encouragements, grew every Day more inſolent, and openly indulged himſelf in repeating his Complaints and Menaces againſt the King of

France

A. D. 1510. *France* and the Duke of *Ferrara*. On the Feſtival of St. *Peter*, which is the Day appointed by antient Cuſtom for offering the Tributes due to the Apoſtolic See, he refuſed to accept the Tribute of the Duke of *Ferrara*, alledging, that the Conceſſion of *Alexander* VI. who, at the Marriage of his Daughter, had reduced it from 4000 Ducats to a hundred, was not valid, as done in Prejudice to that See. And the ſame Day, having before refuſed to grant Leave to the Cardinal of *Auſch* and the other *French* Cardinals to return into *France*, being informed that the Cardinal of *Auſch* was gone out with Nets and Dogs into the Country, he had an unreaſonable Suſpicion that he deſigned to convey himſelf away privately, and ordered him in all Haſte to be ſeized, and confined in the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*. And now he had thus openly diſcovered that he was fallen at Variance with the King of *France*, he was obliged ſo much the more to enlarge his Foundations, and ſtrengthen himſelf on a better Bottom. With this View he granted the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Catholic

Pope ſeeks to engage the King of *Spain*.

tholic King, with the ſame Tribute on which the *Aragonian* Kings had obtained it; though before he had denied to grant it under a Tribute of 48000 Ducats, which the Kings of *Naples* of the *French* Race had paid for it. *Julius*, in granting this Favour, had not ſo much an Eye to the Obligation by which that King, according to the antient Cuſtom of Inveſtitures, was bound to furniſh, whenever it ſhould be required, 300 Men at Arms for the Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical State, as a Deſire to gain his Friendſhip, and Hopes that theſe Aſſiſtances * might, at a proper Opportunity, induce him to declare himſelf openly againſt the King of *France*. And, indeed, the Seeds of Diſcontent were already ſown between the two Kings: For his Catholic Majeſty was under Apprehenſions from the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, and jealous of his Ambition, which would not ſuffer him to content himſelf with the Limits preſcribed him by the League of *Cambray*, but excited him to bring under his Dominion the City of *Verona*. He was alſo ſtimulated by his old Emulation;

A. D. 1510.

* Which he might expect from the *Swiſs*, *Venetians*, and himſelf.

A. D. 1510. Emulation, which made him ardently deſirous of ſtopping his proſperous Career, and preventing the Accompliſhment of his Deſigns; for this End he was continually labouring to bring about an Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, ſo much deſired by the Pope; and though *Ferdinando* was extremely wary and ſecret in taking theſe Meaſures, it was yet impoſſible to cover his Deſigns ſo as to guard againſt a Suſpicion. Whilſt therefore his Armada, deſigned for the Attack of the Iſland of *Gerbe*, called by the *Latins*, *Meninge*, lay off *Sicily*, it raiſed the Jealouſy of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and Doubts and Apprehenſions in the Minds of thoſe who were acquainted with the *Spaniſh* King's Arts of diſguiſing his real Intentions.*

But now came freſh Troubles upon the King of *France*, who was alarmed from a Quarter

* This Armada of *Ferdinando*, after the Conqueſt of *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, attacked the Iſland of *Gerbe*, but the Soldiers wanting Water, and marching in Search of it fell into an Ambuſh of the *Moors*, and were all cut to Pieces to the Number of 4000, and among them Don *Garzia*, Son of the Duke of *Alva*, a valiant Youth of great Hopes, Biſhop of *Nebbio*.

Quarter whence he leaſt expected it, and at a Time when he thought himſelf ſecure from all Preparations of War, of which there did not appear the leaſt Movement. For the Pope carrying on his Deſigns with the deepeſt Secrecy, had contrived that *Genoa* ſhould be attacked both by Land and Sea at the ſame Time; that 12000 *Swiſs* ſhould make a Deſcent into the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that the *Venetians*, with their whole united Strength, ſhould put themſelves in Motion for recovering their Towns which were in the Poſſeſſion of *Cæſar*; and his own Army ſhould enter the Territory of *Ferrara*, with an Intention, if the *Swiſs* went on proſperouſly, to proceed from thence into the Dutchy of *Milan*. He was in hopes that, if *Genoa* were unexpectedly attacked, he could eaſily effect a Revolution in that City, by the Favour of Multitudes who were averſe to the *French* Government; and that the Party of the *Fregoſi* might be induced to aſſiſt in the Undertaking, the Proceedings were to paſs under the Notion of creating Doge *Ottaviano*, whoſe Father and Uncle had enjoyed the ſame Dignity. The *French*, *A. D.* 1516. Pope's ſecret Projects.

he

A. D. 1510. he imagined, being in Confuſion at the Commotion in *Genoa*, and attacked by the *Swiſs*, would recall all the Troops which they had ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Cæſar* and the Duke of *Ferrara* into the Dutchy of *Milan*; by which Means the *Venetians* might eaſily recover *Verona*, and afterwards proceed againſt the State of *Milan*; and his own Troops might without Difficulty, as he hoped, get Poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, abandoned by the *French* Auxiliaries. All theſe things conſidered, made it appear impoſſible for the *French* to defend the *Milaneſe* againſt ſo many Enemies and ſo ſudden an Attack.

Pope attacks *Ferrara*.

THE Enterpriſes againſt *Ferrara* and *Genoa* were undertaken at the ſame Time: For though the Duke of *Ferrara*, againſt whom the Pontiff, to haſten the Execution, proceeded as againſt a notorious Delinquent, had offered to give him what Salts he had made at *Comacchio*, and promiſed to make no more, he diſmiſſed his Ambaſſadors from his Court, and gave Orders to his Troops to march againſt him. The Caſtles of *Cento* and

la Pieve

la Pieve were ſurrendered to them on the Summons only of a Trumpet, *Alfonſo* making no Defence. Thoſe Places which firſt belonged to the Biſhopric of *Bologna*, were appropriated to the Dutchy of *Ferrara* by Pope *Alexander* on the Marriage of his Daughter, and the Loſs to the Biſhopric made good by other Revenues. *A. D.* 1510.

Enterpriſe againſt *Genoa*.

IN the Expedition againſt *Genoa* were employed twelve light Galleys of the *Venetians* under Admiral *Grillo Contarino*, and one of the Popes. Aboard the Fleet were *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, *Gieronimo Doria*, and many other Exiles. At the ſame time, *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, with 100 Men at Arms and 600 Foot, marched againſt that City by Land. This Officer having left the Service of the *Florentines*, was enliſted by the Pope, and had taken up his Quarters in the Territory of *Lucca*, on Pretence of recruiting his Company, ſpreading a Report that he was afterwards to march for *Bologna*. And though by his Station at *Lucca* he gave Suſpicion to *Chaumont* of a Deſign againſt *Genoa*, yet he knew nothing of the coming of the Fleet; and

A. D. 1510. and it being induſtriouſly reported, by the cunning Contrivance of the Pope, that the Preparations of the *Swiſs* for putting themſelves in Motion, and the Stay of *Marc' Antonio* were only with an Intention to make a ſudden Attack upon *Ferrara*, *Chaumont* had made no other Proviſions for the Defence of *Genoa* than ſending thither a ſmall Number of Foot. *Marc' Antonio* proceeded with his Troops into the Vale of *Biſagna*, a Mile from the Walls of *Genoa*, though he had not been received, as the Pope had perſuaded himſelf, into *Serzana*, nor into the Town of *Specie*.* At the ſame Time, the naval Armament, which had taken Poſſeſſion of *Seſtri* and *Chiaueri*, had proceeded from *Rapalle* to the Mouth of the River *Entello*, which falls into the Sea near the Port of *Genoa*. At the firſt Report of the Approach of the Enemy, the Son of *Gianluigi-del Fieſco* entered that City at the Head of 800 Peaſants, in favour of the *French*, as did the Nephew of

* The Town of *Specie* was found deſtitute of Defence, and immediately poſſeſſed by the Eccleſiaſtic Troops, Biſhop of *Nebio*, *Mozenigo* ſays it capitulated; and it appears below by *Antonio*'s ſending back his Troops to *Specie*, that the Place was open to them.

of the Cardinal of *Finale*, with as many more; which were a ſufficient Safeguard to the Place, and ſecured its Peace, ſo that no Commotion happened. Thus the Exiles and the Pope being diſappointed of their principal Hopes, and farther Supplies of Troops continually arriving from *Lombardy* and the *Weſtern Riviera*, beſides Admiral *Prujean* having entered the Port with ſix large Galleys, it was now thought not only fruitleſs but dangerous to remain before *Genoa*, and therefore the Fleet by Sea, and *Marco Antonio* by Land, retired to *Rapalle*, having by the Way made an Attempt upon *Porto-fino*, where *Franceſco Bollano*, Captain of a *Venetian* Galley was killed. The Fleet ſoon after ſetting out from *Rapalle* in order to retire to *Civita Vecchia*, *Marco Antonio Colonna*, not thinking he could conduct his Men in Satety by Land, becauſe the whole Country was up in Arms, and the Peaſants, as uſual, burning with Vengeance againſt the Soldiers when they retreat under Misfortunes; embarked on board the Galleys with 60 of hit beſt Horſe, and ſent back the reſt of his Troops by Land to *Speccie*; A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510 but moſt of them were plundered and ſtripped in the Territories of *Genoa* and *Lucca*, and on the Borders of the *Florentines*.

THUS ended the Enterprize upon *Genoa*, not much to the Honour of *Grillo* and *Ottaviano*, becauſe they forbore, out of Fear, to attack *Prujean*'s Fleet, which had they done before it got into the Port of *Genoa*, it was believed that, by their Superiority, they might have obtained a conſiderable Advantage. After their Departure *Prujean* ſet out of the Port with ſeven Galleys and four Ships in purſuit of the *Venetian* Squadron, which, though ſuperior in Number of Galleys, was inferior in Ships. Both Squadrons put in at the Iſle of *Elba*, the *Venetians* into *Porto Lungone*, and the *French* into *Porto Ferrajo*; but the *French* Squadron, after following the Enemy along the Coaſt as far as *Monte Argentaro*, returned to *Genoa*.

THE Troops of the Pontiff, under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, were by this Time entered into *Romagna* againſt the

the Duke of *Ferrara*: Here, after they had taken the Town of *Lugo*, *Bagnacavallo*, and all that the Duke poſſeſſed on this Side the *Po*, they laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Lugo*. But, while they lay here in a careleſs and diſorderly Poſture, on receiving Intelligence that the Duke of *Ferrara*, with the *French* Troops and 150 Men at Arms of his own, and a good Number of Light Horſe, were coming to ſuccour the Place, the Duke of *Urbino* raiſed the Siege in all Haſte, and leaving three Pieces of Cannon behind him retired to *Imola*; and *Alfonſo* laid hold of this Opportunity for recovering all that had been taken from him in *Romagna*. But the Eccleſiaſtic Army being put in good Order, and conſiderably augmented, the ſame Towns were eaſily retaken, and in a ſhort time after the Caſtle of *Lugo* was ſurrendered, after it had ſtood a Battery of ſeveral Days. After the Taking of this Place, an Opportunity preſented itſelf for greater Succeſs: For there being no Garriſon in *Modena*, the Duke being employed in making Proviſions for the Defence of other Places where the Danger was neareſt, *A. D.* 1510.

A. D. 1510. and not able to furniſh the neceſſary Supplies of himſelf, nor obtain of *Chaumont* an Order for 200 Lances to be ſent into that Place, the Cardinal of *Pavia* marching with the Army to *Caſtel Franco*, ſuddenly took Poſſeſſion of that City by Agreement, being invited thither by *Gherardo* and *Franceſco Maria Rangoni*, Noblemen of *Modena*, of ſo great Authority, that they had it in their Power, eſpecially *Gherardo*, to diſpoſe of the Place into what Hands they pleaſed; and were incited to take this Step, as it was believed, more by Ambition and a Deſire of Change, than by any other Motive. After the Loſs of *Modena*, *Alfonſo*, being in Pain for *Reggio*, immediately put ſome Troops into that City; and *Chaumont*, regretting his former Want of Precaution in not ſaving *Modena*, ordered thither 200 Lances, though he could not ſo well ſpare them on account of the Motions of the *Swiſs*.

Pope's Army takes *Modena*.

THE Confederacy between the King of *France* and the *Swiſs* was expired many Months ago, the King perſiſting in his Reſolution not to augment their Penſions, though

though contrary to the Advice of his whole Council, who repreſented to his Majeſty the dangerous Conſequences of making that Nation his Enemies, by whoſe Arms he had before ſtruck a Terror into all that oppoſed him. The *Swiſs* therefore reſting themſelves on the Authority and Promiſes of the Pontiff, and inſtigated by the Biſhop of *Sion*, but above all provoked to Indignation againſt the King for his rejecting their Demands, had in a general Diet of the Cantons, held at *Lucern*, reſolved, by a vaſt Majority, to take the Field againſt the *French*. *Chaumont*, foreſeeing their Motions, had poſted Guards at the Paſſes towards *Corno*, removed all the Boats from the Lake, ordered the Proviſion to be brought into Places of Security, and the Mills to be rendered uſeleſs. Uncertain however whether the *Swiſs* would attempt a Deſcent into the Dutchy of *Milan*, or paſſing the Mountain of *San Bernardo* enter *Piedmont* by the Valley of *Auguſta*, in order to march to *Savona* with an Intention to raiſe Commotions in *Genoa*; or from thence to paſs the *Apennine*, and march againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, he had pre- A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. vailed with the Duke of *Savoy* to refuſe them a Paſſage; and, the more effectually to prevent it, had, with the Duke's Conſent, ordered 500 Lances to march for *Jurea*. In the mean time he uſed all his Endeavours to divert them from their Enterpriſe, by corrupting the Heads of the Cantons with Gifts and Promiſes. But all he could do was of no Effect; for ſo great was their Hatred, and ſo much were they incenſed, eſpecially the common People, againſt the Name of the King of *France*, that they regarded the Cauſe as their own Concern; and, notwithſtanding the Difficulties they met with in getting Remittances from *Rome*, becauſe the *Fouquiers*, *German* Merchants, who had undertaken to pay them, now refuſed it, for fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the King of the *Romans*, 6000 of them, who were in the Pope's Pay, put themſelves in Motion at the Beginning of *September*. Among this Body were 400 Horſe, Half of whom carried Fire-Arms; of the Foot 2500 were armed with common Guns, and fifty with Harquebuſſes; without Cannon, or any Proviſion of Pontons or Boats. They ſet out by

Swiſs march againſt the French.

by the Road to *Belinzone*, and took Poſ- A. D. 1510.
ſeſſion of the Bridge of *Treſa*, which was abandoned by 600 *French* Foot appointed to guard that Poſt, and halted at *Vareſe*, in Expectation, as they gave out, of the Biſhop of *Sion* with another Body of Troops.

THE *French* were very much concerned at theſe Motions, both for the common Terror which the *Swiſs* carried with them, and more eſpecially on account of the ſmall Number of Men at Arms which they had at *Milan*; for Part of them were diſtributed into Garriſons at *Breſcia*, *Lignago*, and *Peſchiera*; 300 Lances had been ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and 500 ſerved in the *German* Army againſt the *Venetians*. *Chaumont*, however, aſſembled his Forces, and marched with 500 Lances and 4000 Foot to the Plain of *Caſtiglione*, two Miles diſtant from *Vareſe*, having ſent Orders to *Gianjacapo da Trivulzi* to march to the Mountain of *Brianza*, that with the Aſſiſtance of the Peaſants, on which he had more Dependence than on the few Troops which that General carried with him, he might uſe

A. D. 1510. his beſt Endeavour to prevent the *Swiſs* Troops opening a Paſſage that Way. But as ſoon as they arrived at *Vareſe*, they ſent to demand a Paſſage of *Chaumont*, ſaying, that their Intention was to go into the Service of the Church. *Chaumont*, on this Meſſage, began to doubt whether they deſigned to march to *Ferrara* through the Dutchy of *Milan*, in which Road, beſides the Oppoſition of the *French*, they would meet with the Difficulties of paſſing the Rivers *Po* and *Oglio*; or whether they would turn to the Left, and fetching a Compaſs by the Hills under *Como*, and ſo by *Lecco*, paſs the *Adda* in Places where it was narrow and leſs rapid, and purſuing their March over the Hills of the *Bergamaſco* and the *Breſcian*, paſs the *Oglio*, and either through the *Breſcian* or the *Ghiaradadda* make their Deſcent into the *Mantouan*, in which Caſe their March would be through a wide and open Country, where were no Towns or Forces to give them any Obſtruction. In either of theſe Caſes it was the Intention of *Chaumont* not come to a Battle with them, even though they ſhould deſcend into the plain Country, ſo

Chaumont's Meaſures for oppoſing the Swiſs.

ſo great was the Dread of the Valour and Diſcipline of that Nation, but to join all his Forces, both Horſe and Foot, attended with a good Number of Field Pieces and cloſely to obſerve their Motions, intercept their Proviſions, and incommode them at the Paſſage of Rivers as much as it was poſſible, without coming to an Engagement. With the like View he provided the Places about *Vareſe* with good Garriſons of Horſe and Foot, which often alarmed the *Swiſs* in the Night, and kept them continually under Arms. *A. D.* 1510.

AT *Vareſe*, where was already a great Want of Proviſions, the *Swiſs* were joined by 4000 more of their Comerades; and the fourth Day after their Junction they put themſelves in Motion in one Body towards *Caſtiglione*, and turned towards the Left by the Hills, marching ſlowly, but always in cloſe and very good Order in Files of 80 or 100 Men, the laſt Files conſiſting of thoſe who carried Fire-Arms. In this Manner they proceeded, valiantly defending themſelves againſt the *French* Army, which cloſely attended their Progreſs, and annoyed

Progreſs of the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1510. annoyed them with perpetual Skirmiſhes both in Front and in Rear; and it was cuſtomary for 100 or 150 *Swiſs* to march out from their Body to ſkirmiſh, but neither in Advancing, Standing, or Retiring, did they ever break their Ranks. In this Order they arrived on the firſt Day of their March at the Bridge of *Vedan*, which was guarded by General *Molard* with ſome *Gaſcon* Foot, whom they diſlodged with their Fire-Arms, and lodged that Night at *Appiano*, eight Miles from *Vareſe*, while *Chaumont* took up his Quarters at *Aſſaron*, a large Village towards the Mountain of *Brianza*, ſix Miles diſtant from *Appiano*. The next Day the *Swiſs* directed their March by the Hills on the Road to *Cantú*, *Chaumont* obſerving them with only 200 Lances, having, on account of the Ruggedneſs of the Places, left the Artillery with the Foot that guarded it, lower down. But when the *Swiſs* were got half way, either on account of the Moleſtations which, as *Chaumont* boaſted, they received that Day from the *French*, or becauſe they had ſo appointed, they went off from the Road to *Cantú*, and turning more to the Left, marched over the

the higher Grounds retiring towards *Como*, and lodged at Night in the Suburbs of that City, and in the neighbouring Villages. From the Suburbs of *Como* they advanced three Miles, and took up their Quarters next Night at *Chiaſſo*, keeping the *French* in Suſpenſe, whether they would return to *Belinzone* by the Valley of *Lugara*, or proceed towards the *Adda*, over which, though they had no Pontons, many were of Opinion that they would make a Shift to paſs all in a Body together on Planks. But the next Day removed all Doubts, for they marched and took up their Quarters at the Bridge of *Treſa*, whence they diſperſed themſelves to their own Habitations, being reduced to the laſt Extremities for want of Bread, and vaſtly diſtreſſed for want of Money. And this ſudden Retreat is aſcribed to their being deſtitute of Money, and to the Difficulty of paſſing the Rivers, but much more to the Scarcity of Proviſions.* A. D. 1510.

Retire to their own Country.

THUS

* The Biſhop of *Nebbio* imputes this Retreat of the *Swiſs* to Treachery; and ſays, it was reported that they had received 60,000 Crowns of the Pope, and afterwards agreed

A. D. 1510.

THUS were the *French* at that Time delivered from a Danger, which had given them no little Concern; though the King, magnifying the good State of his Affairs beyond what was Truth, pretended that he was in Doubt whether it would not have been more for his Intereſt to have let the *Swiſs* paſs; for it was a Queſtion whether the Pope would be weaker without Forces, or with ſuch as would be burthenſome and offenſive to him, which would certainly have been the Caſe if the *Swiſs* had been ſuffered to join him, ſince he himſelf, who had the Command of ſuch great Armies and Treaſures, had been at infinite Pains to manage them. But the *French* would have run a greater Riſque, if the Enterpriſes concerted by the Pope had been all put in Execution at the ſame Time.

agreed with the King. He adds, that though they had retained their antient Firmneſs and Order in Battles, they had for many Years renounced their antient Fidelity. *Mocenigo* ſays, that they returned home for want of Proviſions; though he owns that they made an Agreement with the King of *France*; and he praiſes *Chaumont* to the Skies for knowing how to temporiſe and reduce them to Straits; comparing his Conduct with that of *Fabius Maximus* againſt *Annibal*.

Time. But as the Enterprise upon *Genoa* preceded the Movement of the *Swiss*, so the *Venetian* Army was more backward in taking the Field than had been designed, though they had a very fair Opportunity. For the *German* Troops which, after the Departure of *Chaumont*, remained, together with the *Spanish* Infantry and the Five Hundred *French* Lances, in the *Vicentine*, being much diminished, the *Venetian* Army marched out of *Padoua*, and easily recovered *Esti*, *Monselice*, *Montagnana*, *Marostica*, and *Basciano*; and still advancing forwards, and the *German* Troops retreating towards *Verona*, entered *Vicenza*, which was abandoned by the Enemy; and, except *Lignago*, they recovered all that they had lost that Summer with such vast Expence and Labour of the *French*. From *Vicenza* they proceeded to *San Martino*, five Miles distant from *Verona*, the Enemy retiring into that City; and their Retreat would not have been without Danger, if it be true, as the *Venetians* affirm, that *Lucio Malvezzo**, who,

A. D. 1510.

Venetians recover *Vicenza*, &c.

* *Bembo* charges *Lucio* with Neglect and Cowardice; but *Mocenigo* says, that *Lucio*'s Advice was to proceed warily,

A. D. 1510. who, by *Gian Pagolo Baglione*'s, leaving the Service of the *Venetians*, had the Command of the Army, had not wanted Spirit and Reſolution to attack them. For the *Venetian* Army being advanced to *Villa della Torre*, the Enemy leaving great Store of Proviſions in their Camp retired to *Verona*, the *Venetians* following them with their whole Force, and harraſſing them continually with their Light Horſe; but the *French* in the Rear-guard manfully ſuſtained their Attacks, being much favoured by their Artillery, and afterwards paſſing the River *Arpano*, continued their March without Loſs to *Villa Nuova*. The *Venetians* encamped at the Diſtance of half a Mile from them; but the next Day, not caring to follow them, becauſe, as they alledged their Infantry could not keep up with the Horſe, the *Germans* ſafely retired into *Verona*. From *Martino*, after a Delay of ſeveral Days, the *Venetian* Army approached *Verona*, not without Blame for deferring it ſo long, and began to batter with their Cannon, planted on an oppoſite Hill, the Caſtle

rily, and not to run the Hazard of loſing the Acquiſitions they had made; and that it was ſufficient for their Honour to put the Enemy to Flight.

Caſtle of *San Felice*, and the adjoining Wall; chuſing perhaps that Place, becauſe a Breach could not be repaired there without Difficulty, and becauſe it was very incommodiouſly ſituated for the Enemy to make uſe of their Horſe. The *Venetian* Army conſiſted of Eight Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thouſand Light Horſe, the greater Part *Stradiotti*, and Ten Thouſand Foot, beſides a vaſt Multitude of Peaſants. The Garriſon of *Verona* was compoſed of Three Thouſand *Spaniſh* Lances, One Hundred *German* and *Italian* Lances, above Four Hundred *French* Lances, Five Hundred Foot in the Pay of the King, and Four Thouſand *Germans*; but no longer under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*, for he died ſome Days before. The People of *Verona* were diſaffected to the *Germans*, and had Arms in their Hands, on which the *Venetians* grounded much of their Hopes. In the mean time their Light Horſe waded the *Adice* at a Ford below *Verona*, and ſcoured the whole Country. The *Venetians* continued to batter the Wall with great Fury, though the Cannon of the *French* in Garriſon being covered by its

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. its Rampart did great Execution among the Beſiegers, who were not entrenched, and *Lattantio da Bergamo*, one of their beſt Officers of Foot, had his Buttocks taken off by a Cannon Ball, and died a few Days after. At length the Artillery of the Beſiegers had ruined a great Part of the Wall quite to the Edge of the Scarp, and the Cannon on that Side being all diſmounted, ſo as not to be any longer in a Condition to fire, the *Germans* were not without Fear of loſing the Caſtle, though it had good Ramparts. That the Loſs of the Caſtle, however, might not be followed by that of the City, they deſigned, in caſe of Neceſſity, to retire to certain Intrenchments, which they had made in a Place that was near, where they had erected a Battery that was in readineſs to play againſt the inward Face of the Caſtle, in hopes to open it in ſuch a Manner that the Enemy ſhould find it impoſſible to maintain themſelves in it. But the Troops of the Garriſon had a great Superiority in point of Goodneſs; for in the *Venetian* Army were no Foot beſides *Italians*, who commonly receiving their Pay once in forty Days,

Days, continued in their Service, more because they found but very ſlender Subſiſtence elſewhere, than for any other Reaſon. Hence the *Italian* Infantry, not being trained to the ſtrict Diſcipline of the Ultramontanes, nor qualified for ſtanding their Ground in the Field, are now almoſt conſtantly rejected by thoſe who can ſerve themſelves with foreign Foot, eſpecially *Swiſs*, *Germans*, or *Spaniards*. The Defence therefore being managed with greater Reſolution than the Attack, about Eighteen Hundred Foot, with ſome *French* Horſe, made a Sally one Night to make an Attempt on the Artillery. They eaſily diſperſed and put to Flight the Foot that guarded it, nailed up two Pieces, and were labouring to bring them into the Place, when the whole Camp being alarmed, *Zitolo da Perugia* with a ſtrong Party of Foot haſted to their Reſcue, where, valiantly fighting, he ended his Life with much Glory. But *Dionigi di Naldo* coming up with the greater Part of the Army, the *Germans* were obliged to abandon the Artillery, having acquired no ſmall Honour, by firſt routing the Foot that guarded the

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. Cannon, then killing Part of thoſe who firſt came to its Reſcue, and among others *Zitolo*, an Officer of Foot in high Reputation, and at laſt making their Retreat with very inconſiderable Loſs. In ſhort, the *Venetian* Generals being diſcouraged by this laſt Action, finding that the People of the City made no Stir, and judging that it was not only vain but dangerous to continue the Siege, as they were not very ſecure in their Quarters, their Foot being poſted on a Hill, and the Horſe in a Valley at a good Diſtance from them, they reſolved to retire to their old Quarters at *San Martino*. And this Reſolution was haſtened by the Information they had received that *Chaumont* finding himſelf at liberty by the Departure of the *Swiſs*, and underſtanding the Danger of *Verona*, was on his March to relieve it. As they were breaking up their Camp, the Foragers of *Verona*, with a great Eſcort, entered the Valley of *Polliente* under the Mountain of *San Felice*; but the *Venetian* light Horſe haſtening in great Numbers to the Aſſiſtance of their Foot, and ſeizing the Paſſes of the Valley, all thoſe who came out of

Verona

Verona were killed or made Priſoners. From *San Martino* the *Venetian* Army, on Advice of the Coming of *Chaumont*, retired to *San Bonifacio*; about which Time the Troops that were left in Garriſon at *Trevigi* had the Town of *Aſſilio*, near the River *Muſone*, in which were Eight Hundred *Germans*, ſurrendered to them upon Articles, and afterwards the Caſtle. In *Friuli* the War was proſecuted with the ſame Viciſſitude of Fortune, and the uſual Barbarities, there being no longer any fighting with Enemies in the open Field, but the Parties on all Sides making it their Buſineſs utterly to ruin and deſtroy the Houſes, and lay waſte the Country; and the Province of *Iſtria* was afflicted with the ſame diſmal Calamities. A. D. 1516.

ABOUT this Time the Marquis of *Mantoua* was delivered out of Priſon, and his Liberty was obtained in a very remarkable Manner. It had been ſollicited by the Pope, who had before a Kindneſs for the Marquis, and deſigned to employ him in his Service, and to make Uſe of

A. D. 1510. his State, which lay very commodious for carrying on a War againſt the King of *France*; and it was univerſally believed in *Italy*, that his Deliverance was effected by means of the Pope. I have however been informed by a very creditable Perſon, who was at that Time entruſted with the whole Adminiſtration of the State of *Mantoua*, that his Freedom was owing to a very different Motive. For it being ſuſpected, and with good Reaſon, that the *Venetians*, either out of a Hatred which they had conceived againſt him, or Apprehenſions from his Liberty, were inclined to keep him in perpetual Confinement; and ſeveral Methods having been tried in vain for his Releaſe, it was reſolved at laſt, in the Council of *Mantoua*, to have recourſe to *Bajazet* the *Turkiſh* Emperor, whoſe Friendſhip the Marquis had for many Years cultivated by frequent Meſſages and various Preſents. *Bajazet*, being informed of his Misfortune, ſent for the *Bailo* * of the *Venetian* Merchants who trafficked at

* This Officer we now call the Conſul, and he has the Charge of Affairs relating to the Merchants of his own Nation in that Port where he reſides.

at *Pera**; and required of him a Promiſe that the Marquis ſhould be ſet at liberty. The *Bailo* refuſing to promiſe what was not in his Power to perform, and offering to write to *Venice* about it, where he did not doubt but they would come to a Reſolution conformable to his Deſire, the Sultan replied in a haughty Tone, and told him that it was his Will that he ſhould make an abſolute Promiſe. On which he was neceſſitated to comply, and gave advice of it to the *Venetian* Senate, who conſidering that it was no fit Time to provoke ſo potent a Prince, determined to releaſe the Marquis. But to hide the Diſgrace, and to reap ſome Benefit from his Deliverance, they hearkened to the Requeſt of the Pope, by which Means it was concluded, tho' ſecretly, that to ſecure the *Venetians* from being at any time moleſted by the Marquis, he ſhould deliver his eldeſt Son into the Cuſtody of the Pope, as a Hoſtage for his good Behaviour. The Marquis was conducted to *Bologna*, where, after he had conſigned his Son into the Hands of the Pope's

A. D. 1510.

* A Suburb of *Conſtantinople*, where the *Franks* reſide.

A. D. 1510. Agents, finding himſelf at liberty, he ſet out for *Mantoua*, excuſing himſelf to *Cæſar* and the King of *France*, by alledging that on account of reſtoring good Order in his State, he was hindered from going to ſerve in their Armies, as a Feudatory of one, and in the Pay of the other, for the King had preſerved him in his Poſt and Perquiſites; but his real Deſign was to ſtand neuter.

THE ill Succeſs of the Attempts which had been hitherto made, did not in any meaſure diminiſh the Hopes of the Pontiff, who promiſing himſelf more than ever a Revolution in the State of *Genoa*, reſolved to make a freſh Attempt upon it. The *Venetians* therefore, who rather followed by Neceſſity than approved theſe impetuous Movements, increaſed their Fleet which lay at *Civita Vecchia* with four large Ships; and the Pope flattering himſelf that his Name would the more eaſily induce the *Genoeſe* to rebel, added his only Galeaſs with ſome other Veſſels to the Fleet, and publickly bleſſed, with the pontifical Solemnities, his own Flag.

Every

Every one was ſurpriſed that his Holineſs, now his Deſigns were diſcovered, and there were abundance of Soldiers in *Genoa*, beſides a potent Fleet in the Harbour, could entertain Hopes of Succeſs after he had ſo lately miſcarried when there were no Ships fit for Service in the Port, but a very ſmall Garriſon in the Town, and there was no Suſpicion of an Attack from him. Aboard the Fleet were the ſame Exiles as before, with the Biſhop of *Genoa*, Son of *Obietto dal Fieſco*, and they were to join ſome Land Forces. For *Federigo*, Archbiſhop of *Salerno*, Brother of *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, was liſting both Horſe and Foot in the Towns of the *Lunegiana* with the Pope's Money. And *Giovanni da Saſſatello*, and *Rinieri della Saſſeta*, the Pope's Officers, had Orders to quarter with their Regiments at *Bagno della Poretta*, to be ready when occaſion offered to approach *Genoa*. A. D. 1510.

BUT in that City powerful Preparations had been made both by Sea and Land; and therefore on Advice of the Approach of the Enemy's Fleet, which

A. D. 1510. consisted of Fifteen light Galleys, three large Galleys, one Galeass, and three *Biscayan* Ships, the *French* Squadron, consisting of twenty-two light Galleys, got out of the Port of *Genoa*, and put in at *Porto Venere*, their Safety depending on the Difference of the Vessels, for they were inferior to their Enemies united in one Body, but superior, or at least equal in Force with respect to Galleys, and could by their Lightness at any time disengage themselves from the Enemy, and get out of the Reach of their large and heavy Ships of War. The two Fleets came within Cannon-shot of one another off *Porto Venere*, and after cannonading a while, the Pope's Navy proceeded to *Sestri* in the *Eastern Riviera*, whence it presented itself before the Port of *Genoa*, which *Giovanni Fregoso* entered in a Brigantine. But the Town was so well guarded, that not a single Person of his Faction durst stir; and the Fleet being exposed to a brisk Fire of the Artillery from the Tower of *Codifa*, it was thought necessary to remove, and return to *Porto Venere*, which they cannonaded for several

The Expedition miscarries.

veral Hours but with no Effect, ſo that they gave up all Thoughts of proſecuting the Enterpriſe, and returned to *Civita Vecchia*, whence the *Venetian* Fleet, by Conſent of the Pope, ſet Sail for their own Seas (*), but met with a violent Storm in the *Faro* of *Meſſina*, in which five of their Galleys were caſt away, and the reſt driven towards the Coaſt of *Barbary*, whence at laſt, in a ſhattered Condition, they got into their own Ports. The Land Forces did not aſſiſt in this Expedition, as it was deſigned; for the Troops which were levied in the *Lunegiana* judging by the Report of the Preparations made by the *French*, that the Entrance into the *Eaſtern Riviera* would be too hazardous, made no Motion; and thoſe that were at *Bagno della Poretta* excuſed themſelves by alledging that the *Florentines* had denied them a Paſſage, and did not advance forwards, but entered upon the Mountain of *Modena*, which was in Subjection to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and attacked the Town of *Fanano*, but without Succeſs; yet at laſt the Place, together

A. D. 1510.

(*) The *Adriatic* Sea, or Gulf of *Venice*, in which the *Venetians* claim a Sort of Property.

A. D. 1510. ther with the whole Mountain, deſpairing of Succours from the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſubmitted to them.

THUS had the Pope hitherto miſcarried in all his Enterpriſes againſt the King of *France*; for there happened no Revolution in the Affairs of *Genoa*, as he had confidently aſſured himſelf; nor had the *Venetians*, after their unſucceſsful Attempt on *Verona*, any Hopes of making farther Progreſs on that Side; the *Swiſs*, after making a Show rather than Uſe of their Arms, were gone off; and *Ferrara*, by the ready Succours of the *French*, and the coming on of the Winter Seaſon, was like to be out of Danger. In ſhort, he had ſucceeded in nothing but in the ſtollen Acquiſition of *Modena*, which was but a poor Recompenſe for ſuch mighty Labours and Expences. And yet the Pontiff, though he found himſelf ſo groſly deceived by his flattering Hopes, ſeemed, however, in his Deportment to reſemble what the fabulous Writers have recorded of *Antæus*, who, as often as he was diſabled by the Force of *Hercules*, on touching the Ground, recovered ſtill greater Strength and Vigour.

The

The ſame Effect had Adverſity upon the Pope; for when he ſeemed to be moſt depreſſed, and moſt dejected, he recovered his Spirits, and roſe again, with greater Firmneſs, and Conſtancy of Mind, and with more pertinacious Reſolution, promiſing himſelf from Futurity greater Matters than ever, yet having in a Manner no other Reſources than in himſelf, with a firm Confidence, as he ſaid in public, that ſince he was not induced to any of his Undertakings by Motives of private Intereſt, but purely and ſolely to reſtore the Liberty of *Italy*, he ſhould, by God's Aſſiſtance, ſee his Labour brought to a proſperous End. And indeed he had no manner of Reaſon to have any other Truſt, being deſtitute of valorous and faithful Troops, and had no certain Friends but the *Venetians*, who were under a Neceſſity to run the ſame Fortune with himſelf, and of whom, as they were exhauſted of Money, and ſufficiently oppreſſed with Difficulties and Straits, he could have no great Expectations. The Catholic King choſe rather to give him good Counſel in private than open Aſſiſtance, and ſlily at the A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. the ſame time kept a Correſpondence with *Maximilian* and the King of *France*, and what Promiſes he made to his Holineſs were clogged with many Conditions and Delays. The Care and Pains he had taken with *Cæſar*, to ſeparate him from the Friendſhip of the King of *France*, and to induce him to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, appeared more and more ineffectual. For when the Army of the Pontiff put itſelf in Motion againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Cæſar* ſent thither a Herald, to proteſt againſt moleſting that Prince; and when *Conſtantino* of *Macedonia* waited on *Maximilian* with a Commiſſion from the Pontiff to treat of a Peace between him and the *Venetians*, he refuſed him an Audience; and to ſhew that he intended to enter into ſtricter Bonds of Friendſhip with the King of *France*, he ordered the Biſhop of *Goritz* to be ſent to concert with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the Plan of their future Operations. The Electors of the Empire, though well affected to the Papal Authority, and conſtant in their Devotion to the Apoſtolic See, would be at no Charges, and having all their Thoughts employed

employed on the Affairs of *Germany*, could do him but little Service in his Undertakings. And it did not appear that much more could be expected from the King of *England*, though young and ambitious of Innovations, and a Prince that profeſſed to be a Lover of the Proſperity and Grandeur of the Church, and had heard the Ambaſſadors from his Holineſs not without ſome Inclination to grant their Requeſts. For his Dominions were ſeparated from *Italy* by too great an Extent of Land and Sea, and he could not of himſelf diſtreſs the Power of the King of *France*. Beſides, he had ratified the Peace made between them, and by a ſolemn Embaſſy, ſent for that Purpoſe, received that King's Ratification. It is moſt certain that any other Prince who had ſuch weak Foundations to ſupport his Undertakings, and ſo many Obſtacles to ſurmount, would have given over his Purſuit, eſpecially if it be conſidered that the Pope might have made his Peace with the King of *France* upon his own Terms, and ſuch that, if he had been Conqueror, he could hardly have demanded more advantageous Conditions. For the A. D. 1510.

King

A. D. 1510. consented to abandon the Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, if not directly, because his Honour was concerned, yet indirectly by referring his Cause to a Tryal, which would fall into the Hands of such Judges as would be sure to pronounce Sentence as the Pope should dictate. But when the Pontiff was assured of receiving Satisfaction on this Point, he further demanded the Restoration of *Genoa* to its Liberty, and was so obstinately bent on this his favourite Project that none of his intimate Friends durst contradict him. And, what is more, when the *Florentine* Ambassadors, at the Desire of the King, endeavoured to soften him, he was strangely discomposed, and shewed manifest Tokens of his Displeasure. And when a Gentleman from the Duke of *Savoy* addressed him with Offers from his Master to interpose his Mediation for negotiating a Treaty of Peace whenever he pleased, he burst with Indignation to such a Degree, that crying out, "This Fellow was sent hither for a Spy, and not as a Negotiator," he ordered him to be immediately clapt into Prison, and examined on the Rack. In short,

Inflexible and resolute Temper of the Pope.

ſhort, he became every Day more fierce and reſolute under Difficulties, and ſcorning all Dangers and Obſtacles, he determined to uſe his utmoſt Efforts for taking *Ferrara*. Laying aſide then for the preſent all other Projects he reſolved to go in Perſon to *Bologna*, in order to haſten the Preparations by his Preſence, to give Authority to the Undertaking, and to animate his Officers, whoſe Ardor did not anſwer his own Eagerneſs and Impetuoſity. His own Forces, he ſaid, were ſufficient for the Conqueſt of *Ferrara*, in Conjunction with thoſe of the *Venetians*, who being apprehenſive that the Pontiff might at laſt, in deſpair of Succeſs, come to an Agreement with the King of *France*, puſhed him forwards on the ſame Meaſures. *A. D.* 1510

On the other hand the King of *France* being ſatisfied, by ſo many Experiments, of the Pope's Animoſity againſt him, and knowing that it was neceſſary to provide for the Security of the State againſt new Enterpriſes, reſolved to defend the Duke of *Ferrara*, to ſtrengthen as much as poſſible his Alliance with *Cæſar*, and, with his

King of *France* provides againſt the Pope.

A. D. 1510. his Approbation, to perſecute the Pope with ſpiritual Arms; to ſtand upon the Defenſive till Spring, and then to paſs into *Italy* in Perſon at the Head of a very powerful Army, in order to act againſt the *Venetians*, or againſt the Pope, according as the State of Affairs ſhould require. He propoſed therefore to *Cæſar* not only to put himſelf in Motion for paſſing the *Alps* againſt the *Venetians*, but alſo to lend him his Aſſiſtance for gratifying what he knew to be his Deſire of old, in ſeizing on *Rome* and the whole Eccleſiaſtic State, as rightfully belonging to the Empire, as alſo on all the reſt of *Italy*, except the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoa*, the Dominions of the *Florentines* and of the Duke of *Ferrara* *. *Cæſar* was eaſily induced to enter into the King's Meaſures, and particularly, by virtue of the King's Authority, and by that of the *German* and *French* Nations, to convoke a general Council, not without Hopes of the Concurrence of the *Spaniſh* Nation, and of

* All *Italy*, except the City of *Venice*, and ſome Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was retained by the *Greek* Emperors, was, for above Five Hundred Years, in Subjection to the Weſtern Empire; till the Pope and other Princes by Degrees encroached on its Rights, and ſtripped it of its Appurtenances. *La Nove.*

of the *Spaniſh* Nation, and of the King of *Aragon*, who would hardly preſume to contradict the Will of two ſuch mighty Princes. And they had another very conſiderable Foundation for their Proceedings in this Affair; for many of the *Italian* and *Ultramontane* Cardinals, of a reſtleſs and ambitious Spirit, engaged to take the Cauſe into their own Hands, and openly to profeſs themſelves the Authors. To ſettle theſe Matters the King waited with Impatience for the Arrival of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, with a Commiſſion from *Cæſar* for that Purpoſe; and in the mean time, for giving a Beginning to the Inſtitution of a Council, and to exempt at preſent his Kingdom from Obedience to the Pope, he called a Convocation of all the Prelates of *France* to meet at the City of *Orleans* about the Middle of next *September*. Such were the Reſolutions and Preparations of the King of *France*, which, however, were not wholly approved by his Court and Council, who, conſidering the ill Conſequence that might happen from giving Time to his Enemy, were againſt deferring the Operations of War to another Seaſon,

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. Seaſon. And if he had been ſo happy as to follow their Advice, he would immediately have thrown the Affairs of the Pope into ſuch Diſorder, and embarraſſed him to that Degree. that he could not have found it ſo eaſy as he did afterwards to excite ſo many Princes againſt him. But the King perſiſted in his Sentiments, either ſwayed by Avarice, or reſtrained by the Fear of incurring the Reſentment of other Princes, if he ſhould go to War with the Pope ſingly by himſelf, or perhaps he had an Abhorrence to ſuch a Step as contrary to his Title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, and to his Profeſſion of being Defender of the Church, as his Predeceſſors in antient Times had always approved themſelves*.

Pope invades the *Ferrareſe*.

THE Pope made his Entry into *Bologna* at the End of *September*, with a full Reſolution to attack *Ferrara* with all his Forces and thoſe of the *Venetians* both by Land and Water. The *Venetians* therefore, at his

* It has been a general Opinion that as often as the Kings of *France* came into *Italy* for the Sake of defending the Church, they always returned victorious; but whenever they attempted to deprive it of any of its Dominions or Privileges, they came off with Diſgrace and Loſs. *Arioſto.*

his Sollicitation, mann'd out two Fleets, of which one entering the *Po* by the *Fornaci*, and the other by *Porto di Primaro*, committed very great Ravages in the *Ferrareſe*, while at the ſame time the Eccleſiaſtic Troops over-run and plundered the whole Country. They did not, however, preſent themſelves before *Ferrara*, for in that City, beſides the Duke's Forces, were Two Hundred and Fifty *French* Lances, and the Eccleſiaſtic Army, though paid according to the Liſt of Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred light Horſe and Six Thouſand Foot, beſides conſiſting for the moſt Part of Men picked up at Random (as the Popes are commonly ill ſerved in Wars) came far ſhort of that Number. To this it might be added that *Chaumont*, after the Loſs of *Modena*, having ordered Two Hundred and Fifty Lances and Two Thouſand Foot to poſt themſelves between *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, the Pope ſent a Detachment of Two Hundred Men at Arms and Three Hundred Foot, under *Marc' Antonio Colonna* and *Giovanni Vitelli*, to reinforce the Garriſon of *Modena*. His Holineſs therefore was obliged to ſollicit A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. the *Venetians* to ſend into the *Ferrareſe* a Part of their Army, which had reduced almoſt the whole Province of *Friuli*, the Forces of *Cæſar* at *Verona*, and every where elſe, being much diminiſhed. The Eccleſiaſtic Troops had again taken Poſſeſſion of the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, which was abandoned by the Duke, out of Care and Solicitude to preſerve his Capital. The Pope waited for Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances, which he had demanded of the King of *Aragon* on the Obligation of the Inveſtiture, which were on their March under the Command of *Fabritio Colonna*. He deſigned, when theſe Forces had joined his Army, to attack *Ferrara* on one Side while the *Venetians* did the ſame on another, perſuading himſelf that the People, as ſoon as they ſaw his Army approach the Walls, would take up Arms againſt the Duke, though his Generals aſſured him that the Garriſon was ſtrong enough to defend the City with Eaſe againſt the Enemy, and to controul the People if they ſhould have an Inclination to be tumultuous. He applied himſelf then with incredible Sollicitude to increaſe his Army by making new

new Levies in many Places. But the *Venetian* Reinforcements were longer on the March than the Pope wiſhed; for when they had got together a Number of Boats on the *Po* in the *Mantouan* for laying a Bridge, the Duke of *Ferrara* with the *French* Troops ſuddenly attacked and carried them off. Beſides this a Multitude of Boats, and other ſmall Craft, together with the *Venetian* Proveditor, were taken on a Canal in the Poleſine, and a Plot was diſcovered which the *Venetians* had ſet on Foot in *Breſcia* for cauſing that City to revolt from the King of *France*, for which Count *Giovanni Maria da Martinengo* was beheaded. *A. D.* 1510

Plot diſcovered in *Breſcia*.

But much more dilatory were the *Spaniſh* Lances in their Motions than the *Venetians*; for theſe Troops having advanced as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, refuſed, in Purſuance of their King's Orders, to paſs the River *Tronto* till the Bull of the Inveſtiture already expedited was delivered into the Hands of his Ambaſſador. But the Pontiff ſuſpecting that after the Bull was received the

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A. D. 1510. Troops that had been promiſed would never come to his Aſſiſtance, made a Difficulty of delivering it before they were arrived at *Bologna*. The Pope, however, could not be induced by theſe Difficulties, nor by the Remonſtrances of his Officers, to diminiſh his Hopes of conquering *Ferrara* with his own Troops alone, and therefore he attended with wonderful Vigour to all the Operations of the War, tho' at that Time he was ſeized with a troubleſome Diſorder, under which he managed himſelf contrary to the Advice of his Phyſicians, which he deſpiſed as much as that of his Generals, promiſing himſelf the Victory over his Diſtemper as well as over his Enemies; becauſe it was the Will of God, he ſaid, that he ſhould be the Author of the Reſtoration of *Italy* to its Liberty. It was by his Procurement alſo that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, whom he invited to *Bologna*, and honoured with the Title of Gonfaloniere of the Church, entered into the Service of the *Venetians*, with the Title of Captain General, the Pope himſelf participating of his Conduct by giving him the Command of an Hundred

dred Men at Arms, and Twelve Hundred Foot. But it was agreed that theſe Tranſactions ſhould be kept ſecret, becauſe the Marquis deſired it, under Pretence that it was neceſſary for him to re-eſtabliſh his Country in good Order, and to make proper Proviſions for its Defence againſt the Inſults of the *French*. But the Truth was, he ſubmitted to take ſo weighty a Charge upon him not voluntarily, but neceſſitated by the Promiſes which he had made, and therefore endeavoured to delay as much as poſſible his entering on the Execution of his Office, in hopes that an Opportunity might offer which might enable him to free himſelf from his Obligation.

A. D. 1510.

Marquis of *Mantoua* favoured by the Pope.

But now the Ardour of the Pope for infeſting the Dominions of others was converted into a Neceſſity of defending his own, which would have ſuffered much ſooner, and a greater Shock, had not ſome unexpected Accidents conſtrained *Chaumont* to defer the Execution of his Reſolutions. For after the *Venetian* Army had decamped from the Neighbourhood

A. D. 1510. of *Verona*, *Chaumont*, who was arrived at *Peſchiera*, in his March to the Relief of that City, took a Reſolution to turn with his Army, and make a ſudden Attempt for the Recovery of *Modena*. His Troops that were poſted at *Rubiera* had already taken the Town of *Formigine* by Storm, and it was believed that he would eaſily have made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Modena*, for the Garriſon was but weak, the Place not fortified, nor were all the Inhabitants well affected to the Dominion of the Church. But it happened that juſt as he was on the Point of Moving, he had notice that the *German* Foot in Garriſon at *Verona* had made a Mutiny for the Retardation of their Pay, and leſt that City ſhould be abandoned, was forced to ſuſpend his March till he had compoſed the Tumults, which he effected at laſt by diſtributing Nine Thouſand Ducats to the Soldiers in preſent Pay, and promiſing them the like Sum to be paid ſome time in the next Month. But before this Diſorder was remedied, another ſad Accident intervened, for after the *Venetians* had retired towards *Padoua*,

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La Grotta, the Governor of *Lignago*, imagining that he had a fair Opportunity of plundering the Town of *Montagnana*, ſent thither all his Lances and Five Hundred Foot; and while the Inhabitants defended themſelves to ſave their Effects, arrived a Multitude of the *Venetian* light Horſe, who finding the *French* in Diſorder, eaſily routed them with very conſiderable Loſs, for they had taken Care to break down a Bridge which prevented their Flight. And it is not doubted but that if the *Venetians* had immediately marched to *Lignago*, which was then in a manner deſtitute of Troops, they would have taken it *. But that Opportunity was ſoon loſt, for *Chaumont* receiving Intelligence of the Misfortune, ſent thither with utmoſt Expedition a ſtrong Reinforcement. But theſe Impediments deprived him of the Opportunity of recovering *Modena*, into which by this time had

A. D. 1510.

* *Buonacorſi* ſays, that of the *French* eſcaped only one Page; and that the *Venetians* took the Colours of the Dead, and marched under them to *Lignago*, but were unhappily diſcovered, and failed of taking the Place. This Stratagem is much celebrated by the *Venetian* Hiſtorians.

A. D. 1510. had entered a plentiful Supply of Troops, and the Fortifications were diligently repaired; on his Arrival however at *Rubiera* the Pontiff was obliged to ſend to *Modena* the Army deſigned to attack *Ferrara*. The eccleſiaſtic Forces being now all aſſembled in the *Modeneſe* under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino* Generaliſſimo, and the Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Pope's Legate, having under them *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, and *Giovanni Vitelli*, Commanders of great Reputation, the Pope was very eager for engaging with the Enemy; but found the Generals utterly averſe to hazarding a Battle, becauſe the *French* Army was undoubtedly ſuperior both in Number and Goodneſs of Troops. For the eccleſiaſtic Infantry was compoſed of Men levied in Haſte, and there was neither that proper Obedience to Orders, nor that Diſcipline required in an Army; and beſides there was an open Miſunderſtanding between the Duke of *Urbino* and the Cardinal of *Pavia*, which proceeded to ſuch a Height that the Duke charged the other with high Treaſon, and either by his own Authority,

Authority, or by the Pope's Orders, conducted him as a Priſoner to *Bologna*; but the Cardinal pleaded his Cauſe ſo well before his Holineſs, that he cleared himſelf of all Aſperſions, and obtained a greater Degree of Confidence and Authority with him than ever. *A. D.* 1510.

WHILE the two Armies lay thus in a manner fronting each other, *Chaumont* taking up his Quarters with his Horſe at *Rubiera*, his Foot quartering in *Marzaglia*; and the Eccleſiaſtic Forces diſpoſing of themſelves at *Modena*, in the Suburb that looks toward *Rubiera*, and Parties making frequent Excurſions and ſkirmiſhing together, the Duke of *Ferrara* firſt recovered the Poleſine of *Rovigo* without Reſiſtance, and then joining *Chatillon* and the *French* Lances eaſily retook *Finale*; after which he entered the Town of *Cento* through the Caſtle, which held out for him, and pillaged and burnt it. He then prepared to join *Chaumont*, which the Troops of the Church apprehending, they retired within the Walls of *Modena*, after poſting Part of their Foot in the Suburb that faces the Mountain. But the

Exploits of the Duke of *Ferrara*.

A. D. 1510. the Duke had hardly put himſelf in Mo-tion when he was obliged to ſtop, and look to the Defence of his own Territory: For the *Venetians* to the Number of Three Hundred Men at Arms, a good Body of light Horrſe, and Four Thouſand Foot, were come with a Deſign to ſecure a Paſs over the *Po*, and afterwards to join the Pope's Troops encamped before *Fichuerolo*. This is a ſmall and weak Caſtle on the *Po*, but much celebrated in the Wars between the *Venetians* and *Ercole* Duke of *Ferrara*, for its long Siege by *Roberto da Severino*, and its Defence by *Federigo* Duke of *Urbino*, two very famous Generals of that Age. The *Venetians* now had it ſurrendered upon Articles, after they had battered it for ſome time; and then took the Town of *Stellata* on the oppoſite Bank. Having thus the Command of the *Po* there wanted nothing to paſs it but the laying of a Bridge. But *Alfonſo*, who after the Loſs of *Stellata* was retired with his Forces to *Bondino*, fruſtrated that Attempt by planting his Artillery on a Point of Land from whence he had the full Command of *Stellata*, and beſides ſcoured the *Po* with two Galleys.

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The Duke, however, was ſoon obliged to withdraw his Shipping, for the *Venetian* Fleet, which at firſt had been prevented from entering the *Po*, becauſe the Mouths of that River were guarded by the Duke's Forces, found Means to get into it by making their Way up the *Adice* againſt the Stream; ſo that the Territory of *Ferrara* became ſadly infeſted between the *Venetian* Fleets. But that Trouble did not continue long; for the Duke ſet out from *Ferrara*, and attacked the Fleet which, after entering by *Primaro*, was come up to *Adria*, and conſiſted of two Galleys, two Fuſtis*, and a Multitude of ſmaller Craft; he routed them without much Difficulty, and then betook himſelf to aſſault the other Fleet, which being compoſed only of Shallops and ſmaller Craft had entered the *Po* by the *Fornaci* and was arrived at *Puliſella*. This Fleet durſt not ſtand an Engagement, and endeavouring to retire into the *Adice*, through a Water that was near them, were prevented by its Shallowneſs; ſo that being attacked, and battered by the Enemy's Cannon, the Troops

A. D. 1510.

* A Sort of light Galley.

A. D. 1510. Troops on board being incapable of making any Defence, abandoning their Veſſels attended to ſave themſelves and their Artillery.

Pope excommunicates the Duke of *Ferrara*.

IN the Midſt of this Buſtle and Din of the temporal Arms, the Thunder of the ſpiritual Artillery began to rattle from all Parts. The Pope in public pronounced Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, and all thoſe who had taken, or ſhould take Arms in his Defence, *Chaumont* by Name, with all the principal Officers of the *French* Army*. On the other Hand the Aſſembly of the *French* Prelates transferred themſelves from *Orleans* to *Tours*, where rather becauſe they would not oppoſe the Will of the King, who frequently aſſiſted at their Meetings, than from their own Inclination and Sentiments, they conſented to ſeveral Articles drawn up againſt the Pope, only with this Proviſo, that before they withdrew their Obedience from

French Clergy draw up Articles againſt the Pope.

* Before the Pope excommunicated *Alfonſo*, the Duke excuſing himſelf by repreſenting that he could not renounce his Alliance with *France*, the Pontiff in a Paſſion anſwered, "I will cure him of this inveterate Diſtemper, and treat him againſt his Will with proper ſalutiferous Medicines;

from him Ambaſſadors ſhould be deputed to him to ratify the Articles which had paſſed in the Convocation of the *French* Clergy, and to admoniſh him to be obſervant of them for the future, and, in caſe he ſhould afterwards act in Contravention to them, to cite him before a general Council, for which they would make Inſtances with other Princes, in order to obtain the Concurrence of all the Chriſtian Nations. The Aſſembly alſo empowered the King to raiſe a large Sum of Money out of the Revenues of the Clergy of *France*. And not long after, in another Seſſion held on the 27th of *September*, they gave public Notice of a Council to be held at *Lyons* in the Beginning of *March* next enſuing. On the ſame Day arrived at *Tours* the Biſhop of *Goritz*, who was received with ſuch uncommon and exceſſive Honours, as plainly ſhewed with what Impatience his Coming had been deſired and expected. *A. D.* 1510. General Council proclaimed in *France*.

A Division of the Cardinals againſt the Pope now began to ſhew itſelf: For the Cardinals of *Santa Croce* and *Coſenza*, *Spaniards*; *Bayeux* and *St. Malo*, *French*; and *Federigo* Cardinals fall off from the Pope.

A. D. 1510. *rigo* Cardinal of *San Severino*, when the Pope ſet out for *Bologna* through *Romagna*, viſiting by the Way the Chapel of *St. Mary of Loreto*, much celebrated for an Infinity of Miracles, did not accompany him, but, with his Leave, took their Journey through *Tuſcany*. When they came to *Florence* they obtained a Protection of that Senate, not for any limited Time, but till the Government ſhould think fit to revoke it, and fifteen Days after ſuch Revocation ſhould be intimated; and here they delayed, on various Pretences, to proceed any further. The Pontiff growing jealous of their Stay, after repeated Inſtances for their coming to *Bologna*, wrote a Brief to the Cardinals of *San Malo*, *Bayeux*, and *San Severino*, enjoining them, under Pain of his Indignation, to reſort to Court. But he proceeded more gently with the Cardinal of *Coſenza*, and with the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was a Perſon of great Note for his Birth, Learning, and for the Legations he had exerciſed by Commiſſion from the Apoſtolic See, and only exhorted them by a Brief to favour him with their Preſence at *Bologna*. Not one however of

theſe

theſe Prelates were diſpoſed to obey him; but after they had in vain ſollicited the *Florentines* to grant their Protection for a long and definite Space of Time and not only to them but to all the Cardinals that ſhould chuſe to come thither, they quitted *Florence*, and took their Way through the *Lunegiana* to *Milan*. *A. D.* 1510.

Motion and Deſigns of *Chaumont*.

IN the mean time *Chaumont*, intent on recovering *Carpi*, which had been ſeized by the Troops of the Church, ordered thither *Alberto Pio*, and *Paliſſe* with Four Hundred Lances, and Four Thouſand Foot, *Alberto* advancing before the reſt with a Trumpet and a few Horſe, the People of the Town, by whom he was greatly beloved, receiving Advice of his Coming, began to be tumultuous. On this the Eccleſiaſtic Troops in Garriſon, to the Number of Forty light Horſe and Five Hundred Foot, out of Fear abandoned the Place, and directed their March to *Modena*; but being purſued by the *French* who arrived ſoon after, they were overtaken at *Prato del Cortile*, about half way between *Carpi* and *Modena* and diſperſed;

A. D. 1510. the Horſe ſaved themſelves, but moſt of the Foot were loſt. *Chaumont* thought it moſt for his Advantage to engage in Battle before the Enemy was joined by the *Spaniſh* Lances, whoſe March the Pope endeavoured to quicken by depoſiting the Bull of Inveſtiture in the Hands of the Cardinal of *Regino*, and by the *Venetians*, who, having thrown up ſome Works to cover themſelves from *Alfonſo*'s Artillery, were in hopes of ſoon laying a Bridge. With this View he approached *Modena*: But, after ſome ſkirmiſhing between the light Horſe on both Sides, the Eccleſiaſtics, as being conſcious of their Inferiority, declining to draw out all their Forces, he loſt all Hopes of coming to a general Engagement, and reſolved to put in Execution what many, and eſpecially the *Bentivogli*, by various Offers, had preſſed him to undertake. They adviſed him not to waſte his Time unprofitably about Enterpriſes of ſmall Concern, which had more of Difficulty than Advantage, but to make a ſudden Attack on the Seat of the War, and the principal Spring from whence proceeded ſo many Troubles and Dangers.

Now,

Now, they ſaid, he had a fair Opportunity, ſince there were but few foreign Troops in *Bologna*, many of the People Favourers of the *Bentivogli*, and the greater Part of the reſt much rather inclined to wait the Iſſue of Affairs, than by taking up Arms to expoſe themſelves to Dangers, and create new Enemies. If he ſhould let ſlip the preſent Occaſion, it would be in vain to make an Attempt hereafter: For upon the Arrival of the Troops which were expected, either *Venetians* or *Spaniards*, he muſt never think of effecting, with a very potent Army what was now in his Power eaſily to accompliſh with a much ſmaller Force. *A. D.* 1510.

THE *French* General therefore aſſembling all his Forces, and the *Bentivogli* following him with ſome Horſe and One Thouſand Foot in their own Pay, took the Way between the Mountain and the high Road, and attacked the Caſtle of *Spilimberto* belonging to the Counts *Rangoni*, in which were Four Hundred Men of the Pope's Troops, who ſurrendered *Chaumont* advances towards *Bologna*.

A. D. 1510. on Articles the ſame Day, after ſuſtaining a ſhort Battery. *Caſtel Franco* ſurrendered the next Day, and he then took up his Quarters at *Creſpolano*, Ten Miles diſtant from *Bologna*, with an Intention to preſent himſelf the Day following before the Gates of that City. As ſoon as the News was ſpread in *Bologna* that *Chaumont* was coming, and that the *Bentivogli* were with him, the whole City was in an Uproar, and all things were in Confuſion as well among the Nobility as the common People, one Party dreading, and the other deſiring the Return of the *Bentivogli*. But greater was the Diſorder, and much greater the Conſternation among the Prelates and Courtiers, who were not accuſtomed to the Dangers of War, but to the Idleneſs and Delicacies of *Rome*. The Cardinals, full of Sadneſs and Concern, flocked to the Pope, complaining that he had brought himſelf, the Apoſtolic See, and themſelves into great and imminent Perils, and fatiguing him with preſſing Inſtances that he would either make ſufficient Proviſion for his Defence, which they thought impracticable in ſo ſhort a Time,

Conſternation in that City.

Time, or that he would endeavour to compound Matters, on tolerable Conditions, with the Enemy, who were ſuppoſed not averſe to an Agreement, or elſe that together with his Court he would quit *Bologna*; exhorting him, if he himſelf was not moved by a Senſe of his own Danger, to conſider at leaſt how deeply it would affect the Honour of the Apoſtolic See, and of the Chriſtian Religion in general, if any Misfortune ſhould befal his Perſon. All his moſt intimate Friends, and thoſe whom he moſt reſpected among his Miniſters and Servants joined in their Supplications to the ſame Purpoſe. But he himſelf alone, amidſt ſo great and univerſal a Confuſion and Diſorder, uncertain of the Affections of the People, and diſſatisfied at the Slowneſs of the *Venetians*, pertinaciouſly ſtruggled againſt his manifold Troubles, nor could the Diſtemper which ſhook his bodily Frame give the leaſt Bent to his Fortitude of Mind. He had, at the firſt Notice of the Danger, recalled *Marc Antonio Colonna*, with Part of the Troops that were at *Modena*; and ſending for *Girolamo Donato*, A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. *Donato*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, he made bitter Exclamations and Complaints againſt the Slowneſs of his Maſters in ſending him the Succours ſo often promiſed him, by which Means his State and his Perſon were brought into ſuch great and imminent Danger; charging them not only with abominable Ingratitude towards himſelf, who had entered into the War principally for their Safety, and at a vaſt Expence and Hazard; and by drawing upon himſelf the Enmity of the Empire and the King of *France*, had been the Cauſe that their Liberties were preſerved to this Day, but alſo with the higheſt Imprudence in regard to themſelves; for if he ſhould be conquered, or conſtrained to ſubmit to ſome Compoſition, what Hope could remain of their own Safety, and what would become of their Republic? At laſt he proteſted, with the moſt ſolemn Aſſeverations, that he would ſtrike up a Peace with the *French* if their Troops, which were at *Stellata*, having, on account of the Difficulty of laying a Bridge, paſſed the River in Boats and on Planks, did not enter *Bologna* to his Aſſiſtance

ance the next Day. He ſummoned toge- A. D. 1519.
ther alſo the Magiſtracy and Colleges of *Bologna*, and in a grave and ſerious Manner putting them in Mind of the paſt Evils they had ſuffered under a Tyranny, and of the Miſchiefs that attended the Return of exiled Tyrants breathing nothing but Cruelty, and Revenge, he exhorted them to preſerve themſelves under the Dominion of the Church, which they had experienced ſo mild and favourable. And to make them the more ready to comply with his Deſire, beſides former Exemptions, he now took off half the Duties on Things neceſſary for Life that were brought into the City, and promiſed them yet greater Conceſſions. All this he notified by the common Cryer, inviting the People at the ſame time to take up Arms for the Defence of the Eccleſiaſtic State; but without any Effect, for not a ſingle Perſon ſtirred, or gave the leaſt Sign of being diſpoſed to act in his Favour. Becoming therefore ſenſible at laſt of the great Danger into which he was fallen, he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the Importunities and Lamentations of the Mul-

A. D. 1510. Multitude of thoſe about him, ſeconded by the repeated Inſtances of the Ambaſſadors of *Cæſar*, the Catholic King, and the King of *England*, together with the Intreaties of the Cardinals, and gave his Conſent for ſending to *Chaumont* to demand a Paſs for *Giovanfrancesco Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, to wait on him with a Commiſſion from the Pope. And a few Hours after he himſelf ſent one of his own Chamberlains to requeſt of the *French* General that he would ſend him *Alberto da Carpi*, not knowing that he was abſent from the Army. At the ſame time, that he might ſecure the moſt precious Ornament belonging to the Pontificate, he ſent away *Lorenzo Pucci*, his Datary, with the *Regno*, or principal Mitre, which was full ſet with the choiceſt Jewels, to be repoſited in the famous Monaſtery of the *Murate* in *Florence*.

Pope condeſcends to treat with *Chaumont*.

CHAUMONT, from this Requeſt of the Pope, conceived Hopes that he was inclined to come to an Agreement, which he heartily deſired, becauſe he knew it was what the King wiſhed; and that he might

might give no Diſturbance to his Holineſs in his good Diſpoſition, he continued with his Army the next Day in the ſame Quarters. But he permitted however the *Bentivogli*, with as good Number of their Friends and Partiſans, followed at ſome Diſtance by Fifty *French* Lances, to make an Excurſion up to the very Walls of *Bologna*; and *Ermes*, the youngeſt, but moſt reſolute of the Brothers, preſented himſelf before the Gates; yet their Coming occaſioned not the leaſt Commotion in the City. *Giovanfranceſco della Mirandola* had a favourable Audience of *Chaumont*, who ſent him back the ſame Day to *Bologna*, to ſignify the Conditions on which he was content to make Peace; as firſt, that the Pontiff ſhould abſolve *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, together with all thoſe who, on any Accdunt whatſoever, had acted in his Defence, or againſt the Eccleſiaſtic State, from their Cenſures: That he ſhould in like manner abſolve the *Bentivogli*, and take off their Fines, and reſtore thoſe Effects which manifeſtly belonged to them; as to the reſt, of which they were in poſſeſſion before their Exile, their

A. D. 1510.

Conditions of Peace propoſed to the Pope.

A. D. 1510. their Right ſhould be decided at Law: That they ſhould have Liberty to chuſe their Habitation wherever they pleaſed, provided it were not within Eighty Miles of *Bologna*; That as to the Affairs of the *Venetians* no Alteration ſhould be made in the Diſpoſitions concerning them made by the Confederacy at *Cambray*: That there ſhould be a Suſpenſion of Arms between the Pontiff and *Alfonſo d'Eſte* for at leaſt Six Months, during which Time the Differences between them ſhould be decided by Arbitrators whom they themſelves ſhould appoint by conſent, referring to *Cæſar* the Cognizance of the Affair of *Modena*, which City ſhould immediately be depoſited in his Hand: *Cotignuola* was to be reſtored to the moſt Chriſtian King, the Cardinal of *Auch* ſet at liberty, the abſent Cardinals pardoned, and all vacant Benefices in the Dominions of the King of *France* ſhould be diſpoſed of according to the Royal Pleaſure.

THE Count returning with this Anſwer, not without Hopes that *Chaumont* would not rigorouſly inſiſt on all theſe Articles, the

the Pope, contrary to his Cuſtom, heard his Report with Patience, as well as the Entreaties of the Cardinals, who beſeeched him with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs to accept of a Compoſition on theſe Terms, if he could obtain no better. *Julius* bemoaning himſelf on the unreaſonable Exorbitancy of the Conditions preſcribed to him, intermixing every Sentence with bitter Complaints againſt the *Venetians*, and ſeeming to ſtand in Suſpenſe, ſuffered the Day to paſs without declaring his Reſolution. But his Hopes were exalted when in the Evening there entered into *Bologna*, *Chiappino Vitelli* with Six Hundred *Venetian* light Horſe, and a Regiment from *Turkey* hired by the Republic. Theſe Troops left *Stellata* the Night before, and came all the Way on the Spur, being charged by the *Venetian* Governor to uſe the utmoſt Speed. The next Day *Chaumont* with his whole Army took Poſt at the Bridge of *Reno*, three Miles from *Bologna*, where he was immediately attended by the Secretaries of the Ambaſſadors of the Kings of the *Romans*, *Aragon*, and *England*, and ſoon after by the Ambaſſadors themſelves, who with

A. D. 1510.

The Pope embarraſſed.

A. D. 1510. with *Alberto Pio* juſt arrived from *Carpi*, went that Day ſeveral Times to and from the Pope and *Chaumont*, but found them both much altered in their Diſpoſitions. For the General, from the Experiment of the Day before, loſing all Hopes of exciting an Inſurrection in *Bologna* by means of the *Bentivogli*, and beginning to be ſtraitened for Want of Proviſions, which grew every Day ſcarcer, doubted of Succeſs. And the Pope reanimated and enlivened by ſeeing the People at laſt make open Diſcovery of their good Diſpoſition towards the Church, by taking up Arms the ſame Day; and now finding himſelf out of Danger, for he expected before Night, beſides a farther Reinforcement of Two Hundred *Venetian* Stradiotti, *Fabritio Colonna* with Two Hundred light Horſe, and Part of the *Spaniſh* Men at Arms, reſuming his wonted Haughtineſs, he threatened to attack the Enemy as ſoon as he was joined by all the *Spaniſh* Troops which were not far off. In this Confidence of Mind he gave no other Anſwer that Day to the Sollicitations made him, than that there were no Means for coming

Reſumes Courage.

to

to an Agreement, unleſs the King of *France* obliged himſelf totally to abandon the Defence of *Ferrara**. The next Day new Conditions were propoſed, on which Account the ſame Ambaſſadors returned to *Chaumont*; but theſe Terms were attended with ſuch a Variety of Difficulties and Encumbrances, that *Chaumont* deſpairing of making any Progreſs towards a Peace, either by his Arms or by a Treaty, and finding it difficult to remain in his preſent Situation on account of the Dearneſs of Proviſion, and the Weather by the Approach of Winter beginning to incommode him, returned the ſame Day to *Caſtel Franco*, and the Day following to *Rubiera*, pretending that he was induced to retire by the Intreaties of the Ambaſſadors, and to give Time to his Holineſs to conſider the Terms propoſed, as well as to himſelf for

A. D. 1510.

Chaumont retires.

* The Pope's Hopes and Spirits were raiſed to ſuch a Height that his Fever left him, and he publickly declared to the Grand Maſter of *France* and all the *French* excommunicated, if they preſumed from that Time forwards to aſſiſt in any Manner, the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1510. for knowing the Mind of the King on the Affair*.

MANY charged *Chaumont* on this Occaſion with Imprudence in his Reſolution, and Negligence in executing it. For as he had not Forces enough to undertake the Conqueſt of *Bologna*, conſidering that he had no more than Three Thouſand Foot in his Army, it was an imprudent Step to put himſelf in Motion for that Purpoſe at the Sollicitations of Exiles, who meaſuring their Hopes more by their Deſires than by the juſt Standard of Reaſon, find themſelves almoſt conſtantly deceived. But ſince he had determined to undertake this Enterpriſe he ſhould at leaſt have ſupplied with Expedition what he wanted in Strength; whereas, on the Contrary, he let ſlip his Opportunity by his Slowneſs. For after he found himſelf at Leiſure to move with his Forces from *Peſchiera*, he loſt three or four Days, in conſidering the Weakneſs of

Reflections on his Conduct.

* *Chaumont* withdrew from the Territory of *Bologna*, not at the Intreaties, but Menaces of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who proteſted in a haughty manner, that if the *French* did not depart out of the Dominions of the Church, the Peace between *France* and *England*, muſt be conſidered as violated. *Mocenigo*.

of his Army, and ſtood in Suſpenſe whether he ſhould make an Attempt by himſelf, or wait till he was joined by the Forces of the Duke of *Ferrara* and the *French* Lances under *Chatillon*. Some may perhaps defend his Conduct in this Particular; but who can excuſe him for not leading his Army, after the Taking of *Caſtel Franco*, to the Gates of *Bologna*, without giving Time to that City to take Breath, and before any Succours had entered it, while the People were in Suſpenſe, and the Confuſion and Terror, as it ordinarily happens in ſudden Caſes, increaſed above Meaſure, which were the only Means, if there were any at all, of obtaining a Conqueſt or an honourable Compoſition. Yet perhaps we ſhould often pay leſs Regard to the Authority of thoſe who find Fault with the Conduct of Enterpriſes that have proved unſucceſsful, if it were poſſible for us at the ſame time to know what would have happened from the Purſuit of different Meaſures. *A. D.* 1510.

AFTER the Retreat of *Chaumont*, the Pontiff inveighed bitterly againſt *Lewis*, and The Pope obſtinately bent on a War.

A. D. 1510. and filled the Ears of all the Chriſtian Princes with Complaints that the King of *France* unjuſtly, and in Contradiction to the Truth of Facts, aſſuming the Name and Title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, and holding in Contempt the Confederacy ſo ſolemnly contracted at *Cambray*, prompted alſo by an ambitious Deſire of ſeizing upon *Italy*, and a wicked Thirſt after the Blood of the *Roman* Pontiff, had ſent an Army to beſiege him, with the whole College of Cardinals, and all the Prelates, in *Bologna*. His Holineſs then returned with greater Ardor than ever to his warlike Schemes and Projects, and refuſing to treat with the Ambaſſadors who, in Purſuance of the Negotiations begun with *Chaumont*, ſpoke to him about coming to an Agreement, he told them he would liſten to no Terms till he was put in Poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*. And though by the Fatigues which he underwent, from ſuch a Variety of Buſineſs, both in Body and Mind, his Diſorder was again exaſperated, he applied himſelf afreſh to liſting of Soldiers, and to ſollicit the *Venetians*, who at laſt laid a Bridge over the *Po* between *Fichieruolo*, and *Stellata*, to ſend

ſend Part of their Troops, under the Marquis of *Mantoua*, to *Modena* to join his own Forces, and with the other Part to diſtreſs *Ferrara*, aſſuring them that in a very few Days he would make himſelf Maſter of that City, together with *Reggio* and *Rubiera*. The *Venetians* delayed to paſs the River on Account of the Danger which they were ſure to incur, if, as it was feared, the Pope ſhould happen to die. They were, however, at laſt conſtrained to ſubmit to his Will, and leaving Part of their Forces on the farther Bank of the *Po*, they ſent the reſt, conſiſting of Five Hundred Men at Arms, Sixteen Hundred light Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot towards *Modena*, but not under the Marquis of *Mantoua*; for he had ſtopped at *Sermidi*, and was buſy in levying Soldiers both Horſe and Foot, which he was afterwards to conduct, as he ſaid, to the Army. By this Dilatorineſs he had rendered himſelf ſuſpected by the *Venetians*; he came however to *San Felice*, a Caſtle in the *Modeneſe*; but on receiving Advice that the *French* from *Verona* were ravaging the *Mantouan*, on repreſenting the Neceſ-

A. D. 1510.

Marquis of *Mantoua* ſuſpected.

A. D. 1510. ſity he was under of defending his State, he returned with the Pontiff's Permiſſion for *Mantoua*, but with heavy Complaints from the *Venetians*. For though he had promiſed to come back with all Speed, they ſuſpected him of Infidelity, and believed, as it was alſo the general Perſuaſion throughout *Italy*, that *Chaumont*, to furniſh him with an Excuſe for not going to the Army, had, with his Conſent, ordered ſome *French* Soldiers to make an Incurſion into the *Mantouan*: And this Suſpicion was increaſed after the Marquis had written to the Pope from *Mantoua* that he was detained there by Sickneſs.

Motions of the Pope's Troops.

THE Troops of the Pope, thoſe of the *Venetians*, and the *Spaniſh* Lances, were now all joined together in and about *Modena*, and it was not doubted but that, if they had put themſelves in Motion without Delay, *Chaumont*, who, after quitting the *Bologneſe*, had, to ſave Charges, diſbanded his *Italian* Infantry, would have alſo abandoned *Reggio*, and preſerved only the Cittadel. But reſuming Courage from the Slowneſs of the Enemy, he began to make

make freſh Levies, with an Intention to attend ſolely to the Preſervation of *Saſſuolo*, *Rubiera*, *Reggio* and *Parma*. While the Pope's Army lay thus encamped about *Modena*, uncertain as yet whether to proceed forwards, or to turn back towards *Ferrara*, ſome Squadrons of the Church, in an Excurſion towards *Reggio*, were put to Flight by the *French* with the Loſs of an Hundred of their Horſe, and Count *Matelica* was taken Priſoner. At this Time the Duke of *Ferrara*, and M. *Chatillon* with the *French* Forces, being encamped along the *Po*, between the *Spedaletto* and *Bondino*, oppoſite to the *Venetian* Troops on the other Side of that River, the *Venetian* Fleet, on account of the Rigour of the Seaſon, as it was ill ſupplied with Neceſſaries from *Venice*, being on its Retreat was attacked by a Number of Barks from *Ferrara*, which with their Cannon ſunk eight of their Veſſels, the reſt with Difficulty making their Way to *Caſtel Nuovo del Po*, ſeated on the Ditch that diſcharges itſelf into the *Tanaro* and the *Adice*, where it is loſt. The Pontiff then gave Orders that his Army, which, the Marquis

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. of *Mantoua* not having yet left his Capital, was under the Command of *Fabritio Colonna*, ſhould leave a Garriſon in *Modena* under the Duke of *Urbino*, and march directly for *Ferrara*; encouraging his Generals, who unanimouſly condemned this Step, with almoſt infallible Hopes of an Inſurrection in that City. But after they had entered on their March they returned back the ſame Day by Order from his Holineſs, without knowing what had induced him to ſo ſudden a Change, and the firſt Deſign being laid aſide they went and laid Siege to the Town of *Saſſuolo*, into which *Chaumont* had put a Garriſon of Five Hundred *Gaſcon* Foot. After two Days Battery, to the great Joy of the Pontiff, who heard the Roaring of his own Cannon againſt *Saſſuolo* from the ſame Chamber in which he had a few Days before, to his great Mortification, heard the Thunder of his Enemy's Artillery at *Spilimberto*, as ſoon as the Aſſault was given, the Town was taken with very little Difficulty, for the Garriſon was in Confuſion; and the Cannon being immediately planted againſt the Caſtle, where the Soldiers were retired,

tired, it no ſooner began to play than the Place ſurrendered without making a Capitulation, to the great Diſgrace or Misfortune of the Governor *Giovanni da Caſale*, who had behaved in like manner in his Defence of the Caſtle of *Forli* againſt *Valentino*. He was a Man of very low Birth, and had riſen to ſo conſiderable a Command, by being, when in the Flower of his Youth, a Favourite of *Lodovico Sforza*. After the Taking of *Saſſuolo* the Army proceeded and took *Formigine*; and the Pope then gave Orders to lay Siege to *Montecchio*, a ſtrong Town of Importance, ſituated between the high Road and the Mountain, on the Confines of *Parma* and *Reggio*, and in the Poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though partly in the Territory of *Parma*; but *Fabritio Colonna* refuſed to obey, alledging that he was prohibited by his King to moleſt any Place within the Imperial Juriſdiction. A. D. 1510.

Chaumont made no Proviſion againſt theſe Diſaſters, but leaving *Aubigni* with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thouſand *Gaſcon* Foot, commanded by General *Mo-*

A. D. 1510. *lard*, in *Reggio*, ſhut himſelf up in *Parma*, having received freſh Orders from his King to be frugal in his Expences. For his Majeſty, continuing in his Reſolution to lie ſtill till the Spring, had made no Proviſion for his Affairs on this Side the Mountains; whence his Intereſt in *Italy* declined, and his Enemies took Encouragement. The Pontiff, impatient and diſſatisfied that his Troops made no further Progreſs, would not admit the Excuſes of his Generals, ſuch as the Seaſon of the Year and other Difficulties, but ſummoning them all to *Bologna*, propoſed the Siege of *Ferrara*. None approved of the Project but the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, who came into it, either out of Fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of his Holineſs by contradicting him, or becauſe their Troops might return nearer their own Borders. Every Body elſe condemned the Propoſal, but to no Purpoſe, for he would allow of no farther Time for Conſultation, but only to receive Orders. The Siege of *Ferrara* was then determined; but with this Precaution, that, to prevent the *French* from relieving it, an Attempt, if it did not prove very difficult,

Pope reſolves on the Siege of *Ferrara*.

was

was to be firſt made on *Mirandola*. This A. D. 1510.
Town with *Concordia* were in Subjection to the Sons of *Lodovico Pio*, who were under the Tutelage of their Mother *Franceſca*, and were kept firmly devoted to the *French* Intereſt by the Influence of *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, natural Father to the Lady, by whoſe Means her Children had obtained of *Cæſar* the Inveſtiture of theſe Towns. The Pope had long before taken them under his Protection, as appeared by a Brief; but he excuſed what he was undertaking on account of the Condition of the preſent Times, which conſtrained him not to ſuffer theſe Places to be in the Poſſeſſion of Perſons whom he ſuſpected; and offered, if they were voluntarily yielded up to him, to reſtore them as ſoon as he had acquired *Ferrara*. It was doubted at that Time, and the Doubt grew much ſtronger afterwards, that the Cardinal of *Pavia*, who was before ſuſpected of holding private Intelligence with the King of *France*, was cunningly the Author of this Counſel, with a Deſign to divert, by this Enterpriſe upon *Mirandola*, the Siege of *Ferrara*; which City had at that Time no conſider-

A. D. 1510. able Fortifications, nor numerous Garriſon, the *French* were enfeebled in Body and Spirit by Fatigues, the Duke had no Power, and the King no Will to make better Proviſions.

WHILE the Pope was thus ardently intent on promoting the Operations of War, the King of *France* choſe rather to employ himſelf in Negotiations than in making freſh Preparations, and was continually treating with the Biſhop of *Goritz* on Affairs that had been ſome Time depending. But though they ſeemed to admit of no Difficulty when firſt brought upon the Carpet, yet they were ſpun out to a great Length in the Negotiation, by the Delays of *Cæſar* in his Anſwers, and becauſe there was ſome Doubt ariſing from the Conduct of the King of *Aragon*. That Prince, beſides other ſuſpicious Actions, had lately recalled his Troops from *Verona* into his Kingdom of *Naples*, on Pretence that a *Turkiſh* Fleet had appeared off *Otranto**. *Cæſar* and the King of *France* thought it neceſſary therefore to aſſure themſelves of his

* The *Turks* actually appeared before *Otranto* and *Taranto* with a Fleet of four Galleys, five Sloops, and twelve Brigantines. *Mocenigo.*

his Intentions, as well with Regard to the Continuation of the League of *Cambray*, as to what Meaſures were to be taken with the Pontiff, if he perſiſted in his Alliance with the *Venetians*, and in his Reſolution of reducing the State of *Ferrara* under immediate Subjection to the Church. The Catholic King, after ſome Days, returned an Anſwer to theſe Demands, taking Occaſion at the ſame time to clear himſelf from the Complaints of *Cæſar*, and the King of *France* againſt his Conduct. He had granted, he ſaid, the Three Hundred Lances to the Pope, becauſe he was obliged to it by the Inveſtiture, and only for the Purpoſe of defending the State of the Church, and of recovering its antient Fiefs: That he had recalled his Men at Arms from *Verona*, becauſe the Time for which he had promiſed them to *Cæſar*, was expired; he ſhould not, however, have ordered them home, if he had not taken Alarm at the *Turk*: That his Ambaſſador at *Bologna* had, together with other Ambaſſadors, interpoſed with *Chaumont* for procuring an Agreement, not to gain Time for the Pope to receive Succours, but with

A. D. 1510.

Anſwer of the King of *Aragon* to the Demands of *Cæſar* and the King of *France*.

an

A. D. 1510. an Intent to extinguiſh ſo miſchievous a Flame, that threatened to ſpread itſelf through Chriſtendom, eſpecially as he knew with what great Reluctancy his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty made War upon the Church: It had been always his Purpoſe to fulfil his Engagements made at *Cambray*, and was willing to exert himſelf much farther for the future, by aſſiſting *Cæſar* with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thouſand Foot againſt the *Venetians*. It was not his Intention by any Means to bind himſelf under new Obligations, nor reſtrain himſelf by new Articles, becauſe he ſaw no urgent Occaſion, and he was willing to keep himſelf free, that he might be the better enabled to carry on a War againſt the Infidels of *Africa*: He would not be acceſſary to increaſing the Dangers and Calamities of Chriſtendom, which ſtood in Want of Repoſe: He approved of a General Council, and of a Reformation of the Church, provided it were univerſal, and that the Times were not unfavourable; and that he was of this Diſpoſition none could be a better Evidence than the King of *France*, with whom he had communi-

cated

cated his Sentiments on that Head at *Savona*. But the Times were now very unſeaſonable; for the Foundation of Councils muſt be Peace and Concord among Chriſtians, ſince nothing can be concluded for the Good of the Public without a hearty Concurrence of united Wills. Beſides, it was by no means commendable to hold a Council at ſuch a Time, and in ſuch a Manner, as to make it appear that it was ſet on Foot more out of Indignation and Revenge, than with a Zeal for the Honour of God, or the Welfare of the Chriſtian Republic. His Catholic Majeſty beſides ſpoke in private to the Ambaſſadors of *Cæſar*, and told them that he thought it very hard that he ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt their Maſter in the Preſervation of Towns, which he might afterwards make over to the King of *France* for a Sum of Money; expreſly mentioning *Verona*. A. D. 1510

The Intentions of the Catholic King ſufficiently appearing from his Anſwer, the Biſhop of *Goritz*, Plenipotentiary from *Cæſar*, on one Part, and the King of *France* on the other, loſt no Time, but

A. D. 1510. but entered into a new Confederacy with a Clauſe that left room for the Pope to accede to it within two Months, and the Kings of *Aragon* and *Hungary* within four. The King of *France* obliged himſelf to pay to *Cæſar* a Sum of Money (which was a neceſſary Foundation for eſtabliſhing an Agreement with that Prince) amounting to Ten Thouſand Ducats, Part in Hand, Part at Times. *Cæſar* engaged to paſs into *Italy* next Spring with Three Thouſand Horſe, and Ten Thouſand Foot, againſt the *Venetians*; in which Caſe the King was to furniſh him, at his own Expence, with Twelve Hundred Lances and Eight Thouſand Foot, with a ſufficient Train of Artillery; and by Sea with two light Galleys, and four other Veſſels called Baſtardi: They were to act conformably to the Confederacy of *Cambray*, and jointly to ſollicit the Obſervation of the ſame by the Pope and the Catholic King. And if the Pope ſhould make a Difficulty of doing it on account of the Affair of *Ferrara*, the King ſhould be bound to reſt ſatisfied with what ſhould be thought reaſonable. But if the Pontiff refuſed their Requeſt, the Affair

New Convention between *Cæſar* and the King of *France*.

of

of the Council was to be proſecuted, for which Purpoſe *Cæſar* was to aſſemble the Prelates of *Germany*, as the King of *France* had aſſembled thoſe of his own Kingdom, in order to proceed according to the Advice of theſe Aſſemblies*. *A. D.* 1510.

THE Articles of the new Convention being publiſhed, *Goritz*, loaded with Honours and Preſents, returned to his Prince. And the King of *France*, who had lately entered into an Agreement with the five Cardinals, that had the Management of the Council, that neither Party ſhould, without the other's Conſent, come to an Accommodation with the Pope, ſignified by his Speeches, his eager Deſire of paſſing into *Italy* in Perſon with ſuch a Force as would for a long Time be ſufficient to ſecure his Poſſeſſions in that Country. To ſupport, however, for the preſent, the declining State of his Affairs, he gave ſtrict Orders to *Chaumont* not to ſuffer the Duke of Proceedings of the King of *France*.

* *Mocenigo* ſpeaks of other Negotiations previous to the Council, in which it was propoſed by the diſcontented Cardinals that *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Corfu* and *Venice* ſhould be given to the King of *Spain*: *Vicenza*, *Trevigi*, the Province of *Friuli*, and *Padoua* to *Cæſar*; and *Lucca*, *Siena*, *Florence* and *Mantoua* to the King of *France*.

A. D. 1510. of *Ferrara* to be ruined; on which that General ſent the Duke a farther Reinforcement of Eight Hundred *German* Foot, to be added to the Two Hundred Lances which were there before under *Chatillon*.

Motions of the Pope's Army.

ON the other Side, the Eccleſiaſtic Army, after making, though ſlowly, the neceſſary Proviſions, and leaving in *Modena* a Garriſon of an Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horſe, and Twenty-five Hundred Foot, under *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, went and laid Siege to *Concordia*; the Town was taken by Storm on the ſame Day that the Artillery was planted againſt it, and the Caſtle afterwards capitulated; the Army then proceeded, and ſat down before *Mirandola*. It was towards the End of *December*; and the Seaſon was more ſevere than uſual; for which Reaſon, and becauſe the Town was ſtrong, and it was not to be ſuppoſed that the *French* would ſit ſtill, and ſuffer a Place of ſuch Importance and Conveniency to be loſt, the Generals more than the reſt doubted whether they ſhould be able to take it. The Pope, however, had ſo confi-

dently

dently aſſured himſelf of a happy Iſſue of the War, that when, on account of the Diſagreement between the Duke of *Urbino* and the Cardinal of *Pavia*, he ſent a new Legate, the Cardinal of *Sinigaglia*, to his Army, he charged him in public to take Care above all things that when the Army entered *Ferrara*, that City might, as much as poſſible, be preſerved. On the fourth Day after the Army came before *Mirandola* the Batteries were in readineſs, and began to play; but the Beſiegers laboured under many Inconveniencies from the Seaſon, and for Want of Proviſions, which came but ſparingly from the *Modeneſe*, for the *French* had thrown Fifty Lances into *Guaſtalla*, as many into *Coreggio*, and Two Hundred and Fifty into *Carpi*; and by breaking down all the Bridges, and ſeizing all the Paſſes, had rendered it impoſſible to receive any Supplies by the other Way out of the *Mantouan*. But this Scarcity was on a ſudden in ſome meaſure relieved; for the *French* in *Carpi*, on a falſe Alarm that the Enemy's Army was in full March to attack them, being terrified becauſe

A. D. 1510.

A. D. 1510. becauſe they had no Artillery, precipitately abandoned the Place.

Pope diſſatisfied with the *Florentines.*

AT the End of this Year the Pontiff ſuffered ſome Blemiſh in his perſonal Character; it was reported that, with his Privity and Conſent, by Means of the Cardinal *de Medici*, a Plot was carried on by *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, and ſome young Men of *Florence* for aſſaſſinating *Piero Soderini* the Gonfaloniere, by whoſe Influence, it was ſuppoſed, the *Florentines* were confirmed in the *French* Intereſt. For the Pope had tried all the Arts of Perſuaſion to induce that Republic to join in his Meaſures, but had not ſucceeded; on the contrary, was ſo far from it, that the *Florentines* had not long before, at the Requeſt of the King of *France*, given Warning for breaking the Truce with the *Seneſe*, to the great Mortification of the Pope; and though his Majeſty, who only wanted to frighten the *Seneſe*, deſired the *Florentines* not to commence Hoſtilities till ſix Months after the Time of the Warning ſhould be expired, they would not agree to that Part of his Requeſt: They had moreover ſent the King Two Hundred Men at Arms to protect

tect the Dutchy of *Milan*, which his Majeſty demanded of them in conſequence of their Confederacy; not ſo much for the Importance of ſuch an Aſſiſtance, as with a View to embroil them with the Pope. And ſuch was the State of the public Affairs in the End of the Year 1510. *A. D.* 1510.

The Beginning of the new Year was ſignalized by a moſt memorable Incident, unexpected, and unknown to all paſt Ages. For the Pope imagining that the Siege of *Mirandola* proceeded but ſlowly, and aſcribing the ſame partly to the Unſkilfulneſs, partly to the Perfidy of his Officers, and eſpecially of his Nephew, though it proceeded in a greater meaſure from the Multitude of Difficulties, took a Reſolution to haſten it by his own Preſence. So much did he prefer the Gratification of his violent and unruly Paſſions before all other Regards, that he was not to be reſtrained by conſidering with himſelf how unbecoming it muſt be, and how unworthy of the Majeſty of ſo exalted a Station, for a *Roman* Pontiff to go in Perſon with Armies againſt Chriſtian Towns; 1511. Pertinacious Humour of the Pope.

A. D. 1511. and the dangerous Conſequence of diſregarding Fame, and deſpiſing the Judgment which all the World would be ready to paſs upon him by furniſhing his Enemies with colourable Reaſons, and in a manner juſtifying thoſe who, principally under a Pretence that his Government was pernicious to the Church, and that he was guilty of ſcandalous and incorrigible Abuſes, were labouring to procure a Council, and to ſtir up the Princes againſt him. This was the common Talk of the whole Court, every one was ſurpriſed, all highly blamed him, and the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors no leſs than the reſt: the Cardinals alſo ſupplicated him, with the greateſt Earneſtneſs, not to go. But no Intreaties nor Perſuaſions could prevail with him to alter his Reſolution.

On the ſecond of *January* the Pope ſet out from *Bologna*, attended by three Cardinals, and arriving in the Camp took up his Quarters in the Houſe of a Peaſant, expoſed to the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery; being not above two ordinary Bow-Shots from the Walls of *Mirandola*. In this

Siege of *Mirandola*.

Station

Station he was continually fatiguing himſelf, and exerciſing his Body no leſs than his Mind and Authority, almoſt perpetually on Horſeback, riding now here and now there, about the Lines, and puſhing forwards the Completion of the Batteries, which, as well as all the other military Operations, had been hitherto greatly retarded by the extreme Rigour of the Seaſon, and by the Snows that fell almoſt without Intermiſſion, as well as by the Deſertion of the Pioneers, which no Care was able to prevent, for beſides their ſufferings on account of the Severity of the Weather, they were greatly annoyed by the Cannon of the Place. It was therefore neceſſary to caſt up new Works for covering the Men employed on the Batteries, and to procure a freſh Recruit of Pioneers. While theſe Preparations were making, *Julius* finding the Inconveniencies of the Camp at that Seaſon, retired to *Concordia*, where he was addreſſed by *Alberto Pio* deputed from *Chaumont* with Propoſitions on various Plans for an Accommodation. But though *Alberto* took the Pains to go to and fro ſeveral Times

A. D. 1511.

Peace negotiated in vain.

A. D. 1511. between the Parties, nothing was effected, either through the Pope's uſual Obſtinacy, or becauſe *Alberto*, as with Reaſon was ſuſpected, did not act in the Negotiation with due Sincerity.

THE Pope ſtaid but a few Days at *Concordia*, but hurried back to the Army, with the ſame Impatience, and an Ardor not to be cooled by the heavy Snow which fell all the Way, nor the ſevere Froſt, hardly ſupportable by the Soldiery. He now took his Lodging in a little Church, near his Artillery, and nearer the Walls of the Town than his firſt Quarters were. And as he was diſſatisfied with all that had been done, or was now doing, he broke out into moſt vehement Complaints againſt his Officers, except *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, whom he had newly ordered thither from *Modena*. In the ſame violent Manner he hurried himſelf among the Troops, now crying out upon ſome for not doing their Duty, then animating and encouraging others, and, in ſhort, performing both in Words and Deeds the Office of General. And to ſtimulate the Soldiers to behave manfully,

manfully, he promiſed to agree to no Capitulation, but to leave the Town entirely to be plundered at their Diſcretion. It was certainly a remarkable Caſe, and a Sight very uncommon in the Eye of the World, to ſee a King of *France*, a ſecular Prince, of an Age not yet paſt its Vigour, and at that Time in a good State of Health, trained up from his Youth in the Exerciſe of Arms, at preſent taking his Repoſe in his Apartment, and leaving to his Generals the Adminiſtration of a War undertaken principally againſt himſelf; and, on the other Side, to behold the High Prieſt, the Vicar of Chriſt on Earth, old and infirm, and educated in Eaſe and Pleaſures, now employed in Perſon in managing a War excited by himſelf againſt Chriſtians; and at the Siege of a paultry Town, expoſing himſelf to all the Fatigues and Dangers of a Commander of Armies, and retaining nothing of the Pontiff but the Name and the Habit.

A. D. 1511.

Parallel between the Conduct of the Pope and the King of *France*.

JULIUS, by his extreme Sollicitude, his Complaints, his Promiſes and his Threatenings, prevailed ſo effectually, that

A. D. 1511. the Siege of *Mirandola* was carried on with greater Expedition than it would otherwiſe have been. The Progreſs, however, of the Beſiegers was retarded by many Difficulties, which proceeded from the ſmall Number of Pioneers, and becauſe the Army was not provided with many Pieces of Artillery, of which thoſe of the *Venetians* were not very large, and the Dampneſs of the Weather in ſome meaſure obſtructed the Effects of the Gunpowder. The Garriſon, conſiſting of about Four Hundred foreign Foot, commanded by *Aleſſandro da Trivulzi*, made a brave Defence, and they were encouraged to make a bolder Reſiſtance from Hopes of Relief which had been promiſed by *Chaumont**. That General having received the King's Orders not to let *Mirandola* fall into the Hands of the Pope, had ſent for the *Spaniſh* Foot that were in *Verona*, aſſembled his Troops from all Quarters, was continually liſting Men, and cauſed the Duke of

* *Mirandola* was defended by the Widow of *Lodovico* Count of *Mirandola*, who had been dead eight Months. She was Daughter to *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, and *Aleſſandro* the Commander of the Garriſon, was his Couſin-German.

of *Ferrara* to do the ſame, promiſing to attack, before the 20th of *January* was paſſed, the Enemy in their Camp. But many Circumſtances concurred to render the Execution of this Enterpriſe both difficult and dangerous; as, the Shortneſs of the Time for getting together the neceſſary Proviſions, the Leiſure given the Enemy to fortify their Camp, and the Fatigue of conducting the Artillery, Ammunition, and Proviſions in ſo cold a Seaſon, through very bad Roads, and the deepeſt Snows that had fallen for many Years. And the Difficulties were augmented by the General, who ought to have made Amends by his Expeditiouſneſs, for his loſt Time. For though *Chaumont* had all on a ſudden ſet out Poſt for *Milan*, under Pretence of a more than ordinary Sollicitude to make Proviſions of Money and other Neceſſaries; it was reported and credited that he was gone thither in Purſuit of an amourous Intrigue with a *Milaneſe* Lady. His Abſence, though he ſpeedily returned, had greatly depreſſed the Spirits of his Soldiers, and the Hopes of thoſe who defended *Mirandola*; whence many did A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. not ſcruple to affirm, that the Hatred which *Chaumont* had conceived againſt *Gianjacopo da Trivulzio* had as pernicious Effects as his Negligence and Cowardice, and that preferring the Gratification of his own Paſſions to the King's Intereſt, he was pleaſed with beholding the Grandchildren of *Trivulzio* deprived of their State. On the other Part the Pontiff ſpared no Pains nor Coſt to obtain his Ends, and his Rage was increaſed by the Death of two Perſons in his Kitchen, who were killed by a Cannon Ball from the Town, which obliged him to remove his Quarters; and though he could not refrain from returning thither the next Day, he was conſtrained by new Dangers to retire to the Apartments of Cardinal *Regino*, which, by Chance, coming to the Knowledge of the Beſiegers, they pointed a large Piece of Cannon againſt that Place, which put him in Danger of his Life. At laſt the Defendants, having entirely loſt all Hopes of Relief, the Cannon of the Enemy having done mighty Execution, and beſides the Waters of the Ditch being ſo deeply frozen as to bear the Soldiers, they feared that they

they ſhould not be able to reſiſt the firſt Aſ- A. D. 1511.
ſault, which was preparing to be given with-
in two Days; and therefore, on the ſame Miran-
Day that *Chaumont* had promiſed to be dola ſur-
with them, ſent out Deputies to the Pope, rendered.
with an Offer of Surrender on Condition
that they might be ſecured in their Lives
and Effects. The Pope at firſt anſwered
that he would not be obliged to ſave the
Lives of the Soldiers, but at length, being
overcome by the Intreaties of all his Atten-
dants, he accepted of the Conditions pro-
poſed, except that *Aleſſandro da Trivulzio*,
with ſome Officers of Foot, ſhould remain
his Priſoners; and that the Town, to re-
deem itſelf from being plundered, as had
been promiſed the Soldiers, ſhould pay a
certain Sum of Money*; but the Troops
reckoning the Pillage of the Place as their
juſt Due becauſe it had been promiſed
them, the Pope was at no ſmall Pains to
prevent them from ſacking it. He cauſed
himſelf to be mounted upon the Walls, be-
cauſe the Gates were beaten down, and
from thence deſcended into the Town.
The Caſtle ſurrendered at the ſame time,

and

* Sixty Pounds of Gold. *Bembo.*

A.D. 1511. and the Counteſs had Leave to retire with her Effects. The Pope reſtored *Mirandola* to Count *Giovanfranceſco**, and made over to him all the Right and Title of the Sons of *Lodovico*, as acquired by himſelf in a juſt War, receiving of him a Bond, and for Security of its Performance the Perſon of his Son, for the Payment of Twenty Thouſand Ducats, within a certain Time, to recompenſe him for his Charge. For the Security of the Town, that the *French* might not ſeize upon it after the Army was gone, he left a Garriſon of Five Hundred *Spaniſh* and Three Hundred *Italian* Foot. From *Mirandola* the Army marched to *Sermidi*, a Caſtle in the *Mantouan*, ſituated on the *Po*, the Pontiff being big with Expectations of acquiring *Ferrara* without Delay; for on the ſame Day that he took Poſſeſſion of *Mirandola*, he very reſolutely anſwered *Alberto Pio* that he would no more hearken to any Negotiations or Agreement, if, before he treated on any other Article of Peace, he were not firſt put in Poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*.

THE

* Becauſe his Father had left it to him by Will. *Bembo.*

THE Pontiff was, however, obliged to alter his Meaſures on a new Reſolution taken by the *French*. For the King conſidering how the Reputation of his Arms was diminiſhed by the Loſs of *Mirandola*, and deſpairing of ever inducing the Pope to come voluntarily into any equitable Conditions of Peace, ordered *Chaumont* not only to attend to the Defence of *Ferrara*, but not to abſtain alſo, if a fair Opportunity preſented, from carrying his Arms into the Dominions of the Church. *Chaumont*, in Obedience to theſe Commands, aſſembled his Troops from every Quarter, and the Pope, by Advice of his Generals, retired to *Bologna*, either out of Fear, or to haſten, as it was ſaid, from a nearer Place, the Siege of Fort *Genivola*. On this Attempt he deſigned to ſend ſome of the Troops which he had in *Romagna*, and went himſelf to *Ligos*, from whence he proceeded at laſt to *Ravenna*, not thinking perhaps that ſo petty an Enterpriſe required his Preſence*. The Forces of the *Veni-*

A. D. 1511.

King of *France* reſolves to attack the Eccleſiaſtic State.

tiahs,

* In *Bologna* the Pope labouring under the Burden of Old Age, and the Fatigues he had undergone in that diſmal Station at *Mirandola*, was ſeized with a Fever and ſome old Infirmities. *Giovio*.

A. D. 1511. *tians*, not thinking fit to attack *Ferrara* in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had poſted themſelves at *Bondino*; and the Eccleſiaſtic Troops with the *Spaniards*, who at the Pope's Intreaties continued in his Service beyond the Term of three Months, which was expired, encamped between *Cento* and *Finale*.

On the other Side *Chaumont*, having aſſembled his Forces, found himſelf ſuperior to the Enemy in Foot, and ſuperior alſo in the Goodneſs but not in the Number of his Horſe. On holding a Council of War the *French* Generals adviſed him to join his Army with the Troops of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and then to go in queſt of the Enemies. And there was Room to hope that, though they were ſtrongly and advantageouſly poſted, by the Valour of his Men, and by the Force of the Artillery, they would be conſtrained to retire; and, in conſequence, not only the City of *Ferrara* would be freed from all Danger, but the Arms of the King would intirely recover their loſt Reputation to that very Day. It was beſides

Opinions of the *French* Generals.

urged,

urged, in favour of this Opinion, that the General, in paſſing with his Army through the *Mantouan*, would deprive the Marquis of Excuſes, and remove thoſe Impediments, which, as he pretended, prevented him from appearing in Arms, as a Feudatory of *Cæſar*, and in the Pay of the King: And that his Declaration would be very conducive to the Security of *Ferrara*, and of great Diſſervice to the Enemy in the War, ſince the Forces of the *Venetians* would by this means be deprived of no ſmall Conveniences, in furniſhing themſelves with Proviſions, and in the Command of Bridges and Paſſes of Rivers; and beſides the Marquis would immediately recall his Troops that were in the Army of the Church. *A. D.* 1511.

BUT *Trivulzio*, who was returned from *France* on the ſame Day that *Mirandola* was loſt, was of a different Opinion, demonſtrating the Danger of attacking an Enemy in his ſtrong Entrenchments; and the pernicious Conſequence of ſubjecting themſelves to a Neceſſity of proceeding Day after Day according to his Motions. Opinion of *Trivulzio*.

A. D. 1511. Motions. It would be of more Service therefore, as well as more ſecure, to move with the Army towards *Modena*, or towards *Bologna*; becauſe if the Enemy, out of an Apprehenſion of loſing either of theſe Cities, ſhould make a Motion in order to prevent them, they would obtain their End by diverting the War from *Ferrara*. If the Enemy ſhould not think fit to move, they might with Eaſe make themſelves Maſters of one or other of theſe Cities; and in caſe of Succeſs, the Pope would find himſelf under a greater Neceſſity of leaving his ſtrong Camp, in order to defend his own Dominions, and when he was once got out of his Entrenchments, he might perhaps give them an Opportunity to obtain a glorious Victory over him.

First Counſel followed.

Such were the Sentiments of *Trivulzio*; but the Inclinations of *Chaumont* and of the other *French* Generals outweighing his Authority, the other Advice was approved, being alſo enforced with the greateſt Sollicitude by *Alfonſo d'Eſte*; for he was in hopes that his Enemies would

by

by this means be forced to abandon his Dominions, which, he ſaid, were diſtreſſed and exhauſted to ſuch a Degree, that it was impoſſible for them to ſuſtain any longer ſo great a Burden. He was therefore afraid that if the *French* ſhould remove to a conſiderable Diſtance, the Enemy would enter the Poleſine of *Ferrara*, whence the Diſtreſſes of that City, which would in that Caſe be deprived of all that Comfort which remained, would be aggravated beyond Remedy. *A. D.* 1511.

THE *French* Army then took the Road of *Lucera*, and paſſing by *Gonzaga*, encamped at *Razzuolo* and *Moia*, where they reſted three Days on account of the Severity of the Weather, rejecting the Advice of thoſe who propoſed to attack *Mirandola*, becauſe it was impoſſible to lodge in the open Field, and at the Departure of the Pope all the Villages and Houſes about that Place had been burnt. Nor did they think fit to make an Attempt upon *Concordia*, which was five Miles diſtant, being unwilling to loſe Time about an Enterpriſe of ſo ſmall Importance. Motions of the *French* Army.

They

A. D. 1511. They proceeded therefore to *Quiſtelli*, and paſſing the *Scecchia* on a Bridge of Boats, encamped the next Day at *Rovere* on the *Po*. On the Advice of this March *Andrea Gritti*, who had recovered the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, and, after leaving Part of the *Venetian* Troops under *Bernardino da Montone* at *Montagnana*, to make Head againſt the Garriſon of *Verona*, was come with Three Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand light Horſe, and One Thouſand Foot, to the River *Po*, in order to proceed and join the Army of the Church, retired to *Montagnana*, having firſt plundered the Town of *Guaſtalla*. From *Rovere* the *French* proceeded to *Sermidi*, extending themſelves, but under good Diſcipline, into the circumjacent Villages. While they lay here encamped *Chaumont*, with ſome of his Officers, but without *Trivulzio*, made a Step to the Town of *Stellata*, in which Place he expected *Alfonſo d' Eſte*, in order to conſult and reſolve in what Manner they were to proceed againſt the Enemy, who were all got together in their Quarters at *Finale*. It was there reſolved that *Alfonſo* ſhould join

join his Forces with the *French* about *Bondino*, and thus united, take up their Quarters in certain Villages three Miles diſtant from *Finale*, their future Proceedings to be regulated according to the Nature of the Places, and the Motions of the Enemy. But as ſoon as *Chaumont* was returned to *Sermidi*, he was informed that it was very difficult to conduct an Army to theſe Quarters, becauſe of the Waters of which the Country about *Finale* was full; and that there was no going thither but by the Road and along the Banks of a Canal, which the Enemy had taken Care to cut in many Places, and had alſo poſted Guards to prevent the Paſſage; which, together with the Inclemency of the Seaſon, rendered the Undertaking very dangerous. *Chaumont* being ſtartled at theſe Difficulties, *Alfonſo*, who was attended by ſome Engineers, and Men acquainted with the Country, endeavoured to leſſen them, by ſhewing the Situation and Diſpoſition of the Places, affirming that by the Force of his Cannon he would conſtrain thoſe who guarded the cut Paſſes to abandon them, after which A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. it would be very eaſy to throw over Bridges, where it was neceſſary for a Paſſage. The General having referred the Caſe to be argued and diſputed in a Council, the Propoſition of *Alfonſo*, was approved, *Trivulzio* rather not oppoſing than conſenting to it; and perhaps his Taciturnity had a greater Effect upon the Council than his Contradiction would have gained, for it ſet them on conſidering the Caſe more nearly, when it appeared that the Difficulties were greater; and it was of no ſmall Weight with them that this old and long experienced General had always condemned this March; *Chaumont* alſo fearing that if any Misfortune ſhould happen the King would charge him as the Author of it in Contradiction to the Opinion of ſo wiſe a Captain, adjourned the Council to the Day following, when he earneſtly entreated *Trivulzio* to expreſs his Opinion, not with Silence, as he had done the Day before, but in plain and open Words. That Commander being moved by his Inſtances, and much more by the Importance of the Point in Debate, ſtood

ſtood up, and, all liſtening to him with the greateſt Attention, ſpoke thus: A. D. 1511.

" I held my Peace Yeſterday becauſe I have found, by frequent Experience, that little Regard has been paid to my Advice, which, if followed at firſt, would have prevented our Coming to this Place, and ſpending, to no Purpoſe, ſo many Days, which might have been employed to good Advantage. And, indeed, I ſhould be to-day in the ſame Sentiment of keeping Silence, if the Importance of the Cauſe did not urge me to ſpeak; for we are juſt on the Brink of venturing, as I may ſay, on one very uncertain Chance of a Die, this Army, the State of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*; a Stake too great to hazard all at once, without reſerving ſomething for another Caſt. And I am farther invited becauſe, if I gueſs right, *Chaumont* deſires that I ſhould be the firſt to adviſe him to what he is already inclined in his own Mind; a Thing not new to me, for I have at other Times known my Counſels leſs deſpiſed when the Queſtion was about re- Speech of *Trivulzio* in a Council of War.

A. D. 1511. tracting ſomething which, perhaps, was not too maturely reſolved, than when the firſt Reſolutions were taken. We debate about marching to fight the Enemy? I have always known it an inviolable Maxim of great Captains, and have learnt it alſo by my own Experience, never to try the Fortune of a Battle, unleſs invited by ſome great Advantage, or forced by ſome urgent Neceſſity." Beſides, according to the Rules of War, it belongs to our Enemies, who are the Aggreſſors, by putting themſelves in Motion with a Deſign to make a Conqueſt of *Ferrara*, to ſeek all Occaſions to come to a Battle; and no way to us, to whom it is ſufficient to ſtand upon the Defenſive, without putting ourſelves to Trouble, contrary to all Military Diſcipline, to find out and attack them. But let us ſee what Advantage or Neceſſity there may be to induce us. To me it appears, and, if I am not wholly miſtaken, is evident to a Demonſtration, that what the Duke of *Ferrara* has propoſed cannot be attempted without very great Diſadvantage, ſince there is no Paſſage to the Quarters deſigned, but along the Declivity of a Bank, by a narrow

narrow and very bad Road, where all our Forces cannot extend themſelves, and where the Enemy can with a ſmall Number reſiſt a much greater. We muſt be under a Neceſſity of marching along a Bank Horſe after Horſe; we muſt convey our Cannon, Waggons, Carts, and Pontons by the narrow Paſſage of this Bank. And who knows not that in a narrow and bad Road, every Piece of Cannon, every Waggon that founders, will ſtop the whole Army for an Hour at leaſt; and that when we are encumbered with ſo many Inconveniencies every croſs Accident may eaſily put us into Diſorder? The Enemies lodge under Covert, and are provided with Food and Forrage; we muſt almoſt all of us take up our Lodging in the open Air, and it will be neceſſary that Forrage ſhould be brought after us, nor can we, without the greateſt Fatigue, be furniſhed with half of what we ſhall want. We are not to refer ourſelves to the Reports of Engineers, or of Peaſants acquainted with the Country; for Wars are managed by the Weapons of Soldiers under the Directions of Generals; by fighting in the open Field, not by Plans A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. drawn by Men ignorant of War on Paper, or traced out with the Finger or a Stick in the Duſt. For my Part, I cannot imagine that the Enemies are ſo weak, or their Affairs in ſuch Diſorder, or that, in their encamping and fortifying themſelves, they ſo little knew how to make their Advantage of the Waters and Situation, that I can promiſe myſelf, that as ſoon as we are arrived in our deſigned Quarters, ſuppoſing that we could readily convey ourſelves thither, we ſhall have it in our Power to attack them. Many Difficulties may intervene to ſuperſede our Attempt for two or three Days; and if there be no other Difficulty, the Snows and the Rains in this unfavourable and inconſtant Seaſon will reſtrain us. But in what a Condition ſhall we be in reſpect to Proviſions and Forrage, if it ſhould happen that we muſt ſtay there? And even ſuppoſing that we ſhould have it in our Power to attack them, who is he that can promiſe himſelf ſo eaſy a Victory? Where is the Man that conſiders not how dangerous it is to go in Queſt of Enemies encamped in a ſtrong Place, and at the ſame time to have to deal with them and

with

with the Diſadvantages of the Situation of the Country? If we do not compel them ſpeedily to quit their Camp, we ſhall be forced to retire ourſelves; and how difficult muſt that be through a Country where all the People are againſt us, and where every little Diſaſter will greatly increaſe our Misfortunes! I ſee leſs Neceſſity for ſo precipitately endangering the whole State of the King, ſince we have put ourſelves in Motion principally for no other Cauſe than to ſuccour the City of *Ferrara*, into which if we put a Reinforcement, we need not doubt of its Security, even tho' we ſhould diſband the Army. If it be ſaid, that the Place is ſo exhauſted, that, the Enemy's Army continuing to ſtraiten it, it is impoſſible but that, in a ſhort time, it muſt fall of itſelf; have we not in our Hands the Remedy of Diverſion, a very powerful Remedy in Wars, by which, without endangering ſo much as a Horſe, we can compel the Enemy to retire from *Ferrara*, and leave that City at Liberty? I have always adviſed, and now more than ever adviſe, that we turn our March either towards *Modena* or *Bologna*, taking the A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. broad Way, and leaving *Ferrara* well provided for a few Days, for a longer Time will not be neceſſary. I am rather now for going to *Modena*, to which we are incited by the Cardinal *d'Eſte*, who has aſſured us that he has a Correſpondence in the Place, and that it will prove a very eaſy Acquiſition. After a Conqueſt ſo important the Enemies will be conſtrained immediately to retire towards *Bologna*. And even though we ſhould not take *Modena*, the Fear of it, and a Sollicitude for the Safety of *Bologna*, will force them to do the ſame, as they would undoubtedly have done many Days ago, if at firſt this Advice had been followed."

EVERY one now could diſcern, from the efficacious Reaſons of *Trivulzio*, the Difficulties preſented before his Eyes, which that General had diſcerned himſelf when they were yet at a Diſtance. His Opinion therefore was approved by all, and *Chaumont*, leaving with the Duke of *Ferrara* a greater Number of Troops for his Security, marched back with his Army by the ſame Road towards *Carpi*, not having

having as yet prevailed with the Marquis of *Mantoua* to declare himſelf; which was one of the principal Reaſons alledged by thoſe who gave Counſel againſt the Opinion of *Trivulzio*. The Marquis, deſiring to keep himſelf neuter in this turbulent Juncture, when the Time was approaching in which he had given Expectations of declaring himſelf, alledged various Excuſes, that he might be permitted to defer it for ſome Days. To the Pope he repreſented the imminent Danger that hung over his Head from the *French* Army; and he begged *Chaumont* not to defeat his Hopes that the Pope would, in a very ſhort Time, reſtore him his Son. *A. D.* 1511. Marquis of *Mantoua* embarraſſed.

THE Deſign againſt *Modena* did not, however, take Effect, being obſtructed more by the Policy and ſecret Counſels of the King of *Aragon* than by the Arms of the Pope. *Cæſar* had taken Offence at the Pontiff's ſeizing on *Modena*, a City that for a great Length of Time was reputed within the Juriſdiction of the Empire, and had been for a great Number of Years in Poſſeſſion of the Family of *Eſte*, by the Privileges

A. D. 1511. Privileges and Inveſtiture of the Empire. And *Cæſar*, though he had made Inſtances, with many Complaints, to have it put into his Poſſeſſion, yet the Pope, whether he had, or pretended to have, different Sentiments concerning the Right and Property of that City, was at firſt averſe to his Requeſt, eſpecially while he was in Hopes of eaſily making himſelf Maſter of *Ferrara*. But now ſince the *French* Arms were openly employed in favour of the Houſe of *Eſte*, being ſenſible that he could not keep *Modena* without a great Expence, he began to reliſh the Counſel of the King of *Aragon*, who adviſed him to conſent, in order to avoid ſo many Troubles, to mitigate the Spirit of *Cæſar*, and for laying a Foundation for a Miſunderſtanding between that Prince and the King of *France*; eſpecially conſidering that if he ſhould deſire to have it again at a more proper Juncture, he might ſtill obtain it of *Cæſar* for a moderate Sum of Money. This Affair was many Days under Debate, the Pope's Reſolutions varying according to his Hopes; but there was one Difficulty that could not be removed, which

which was, that *Cæſar* would not receive the Offer, if in the Deed of Aſſignment it were not clearly expreſſed that the City of *Modena* was a Fief of the Empire. The Pontiff ſhewed great Reluctancy againſt conſenting to this; but when he ſaw that, ſoon after he was in Poſſeſſion of *Mirandola*, *Chaumont* had taken the Field with a potent Army, and that the ſame Difficulties and Charge for the Defence of *Modena* returned upon him, he put an End to all further Diſputes, and conſented that in the Inſtrument of Aſſignment, it ſhould be expreſly ſaid, that *Modena* was reſtored to *Cæſar*, to whoſe Juriſdiction it did properly belong*. As ſoon as *Vitfruſt*, *Cæſar*'s Ambaſſador, reſiding with the Pope, had taken Poſſeſſion of the Place, perſuading himſelf that the Authority of *Cæſar* was a ſufficient Security to preſerve it, he diſmiſſed *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, with the Troops that were in Garriſon under the Name of the Church, and ſignified to *Chaumont*

A. D. 1511.

* Pope *Julius* reſtored *Modena* to the Emperor, with a Deſign to induce him, by this Example, to demand *Reggio* of the *French*, and, in caſe of Refuſal, to renounce their Friendſhip, and to enter into an Alliance with himſelf. *Bembo*.

A. D. 1511. *Chaumont* that *Modena* no longer belonged to the Pope, but was rightfully returned under the Dominion of *Cæſar*. *Chaumont* would not believe that this was true, and therefore urged the Cardinal of *Eſte* to put in Execution the Plot, which, he ſaid, he had formed in that City. The Cardinal accordingly ordered the Troops that *Chaumont* had left in Garriſon at *Rubiera* to approach one Night as ſilently as poſſible within a Mile of *Modena*; but thoſe within, either on account of ſome intervening Difficulty, or becauſe the *French* came before the Time, not anſwering the appointed Signs, the Soldiers returned the ſame Night to *Rubiera*; from whence they marched out again another Night with a Deſign to approach *Modena*, but were prevented by the Swelling and Violence of the Waters from paſſing the River *Secchia*, which runs before *Rubiera*. Theſe Attempts giving Suſpicion to *Vitfruſt*, he imprisoned ſome *Modeneſe* who were accuſed of intriguing with the Cardinal *d'Eſte*, and obtained of the Pope the Return of *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with the ſame Garriſon. This, however, would not have prevented *Chaumont*,

French fail to retake Modena.

Chaumont, who was already advanced to *Carpi*, from laying Siege to *Modena*, if the Quality of the Seaſon had not obſtructed the drawing of his heavy Cannon along the Way between *Ruolo* and *Carpi*, which is not above ten Miles, but the worſt of all the Roads in *Lombardy*, which in Winter being overflown with Water, and deep in Mud, are, in general, very bad. Beſides this, *Chaumont* was every Day more and more aſſured that *Modena* was actually made over to *Cæſar*, for which Reaſon he agreed with *Vitfruſt* not to moleſt *Modena* nor its Territory, *Vitfruſt* engaging on his Part to obſerve an exact Neutrality in the warlike Proceedings between the Pope and the Moſt Chriſtian King. *A. D.* 1511.

Chaumont a few Days after was ſeized with a violent Diſorder, and being carried to *Corregio* died after fifteen Days Illneſs, having before his Death declared, with great Marks of Devotion, that he was heartily ſorry for his Offences committed againſt the Church, and ſupplicated the Pope, by a public Inſtrument, to grant him Abſolution, which was obtained while

Death and Character of *Chaumont*.

A. D. 1511. while he was yet alive, but could not come to his Knowledge before his Death*. He was an Officer of great Authority in *Italy*, for through the prevailing Intereſt of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, he adminiſter'd the Dutchy of *Milan*, and commanded the King's Armies in almoſt a deſpotic Manner. But his Abilities were much inferior to his great Employments; for when he was conſtituted in the high Station of Captain-General, he neither knew the Arts of War himſelf, nor truſted to thoſe who underſtood them. Hence, after the Death of his Uncle, his Inſufficiency being no longer ſupported by Favour, he was in a manner deſpiſed by the Soldiers, to whom, becauſe they ſhould not make an ill Report of him to the King, he gave Indulgence in all Sorts of Licentiouſneſs, and to ſuch a Degree that *Trivulzio*, a General trained up in the antient Diſcipline, often declared, with

* *Charles d'Ambois*, alias *Chaumont*, was highly blamed for not relieving *Mirandola*, and for not recovering *Modena* for *Alfonſo*; whence he fell into Diſgrace with the King, who regarded him as a Perſon deficient in Courage and Reſolution. His Senſe of the King's Diſpleaſure, and of the Cenſures paſt upon his Conduct, ſat ſo heavy upon his Spirits, that he died of a broken Heart. *Bembo.*

with an Oath, that he would go no more into the *French* Armies, unleſs the King were there in Perſon, or that he himſelf had the Command in chief. The King, however, had deſigned to ſend as Succeſſor to *Chaumont* before his Death, Monſieur *Longueville*, a Baſtard, of the royal Blood, who was not ſo much honoured and eſteemed for his Valour, or Skill in the Art of War, as for his Birth and Riches. A. D. 1511.

By the Death of *Chaumont* the Command of the Army, according to the eſtabliſhed Cuſtoms of *France*, till the King had made a new Appointment, devolved on *Gianjacopo Trivulzio*, one of the four Marſhals of that Kingdom, who, not knowing how long he ſhould continue in his Place, durſt not attempt any thing of Moment. He returned, however, with the Army to *Sermidi*, with a Deſign to march to the Relief of the Fort of *Genivolo*, which the Pope had diſtreſſed with the Troops that he had in *Romagna*, and had procured alſo the *Venetian* Fleet, conſiſting of thirteen light Galleys and a great Number of ſmaller Veſſels, to approach

A. D. 1511. proach the Fort. But it was needleſs for *Trivulzio* to proceed any farther; for while the Pope's Troops lay about the Place in a careleſs Poſture, and under little Obedience or Diſcipline, they were all on a ſudden attacked by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Chatillon* with the *French* Troops, who with a Body of Forces ſuperior to thoſe of the Enemy, marched out of *Ferrara*, the Horſe proceeding along the Bank of the *Po*, while the Foot embarked, and with the Stream arrived to the River *Santurno*, over which laying a Bridge that they had brought with them, they were in a Moment on the Back of the Enemy; who being in Diſorder made no manner of Reſiſtance, except Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot poſted to guard the Artillery, but betook themſelves to Flight. *Guido Vaina*, *Brunoro da Forli*, and *Meleagro* his Brother, Officers of Horſe, with Difficulty ſaved themſelves, but the Colours and Artillery were loſt; the *Venetian* Fleet gave no Aſſiſtance, but to avoid the Danger weighed Anchor and diſperſed themſelves in the *Po*.

Duke of *Ferrara* victorious

THUS various were the Operations of War, without affording as yet any Foundation

dation for paſſing a Judgment on the final Iſſue; and no leſs different and uncertain were the Deſigns of the Princes, eſpecially of *Cæſar*, who unexpectedly reſolved to ſend the Biſhop of *Goritz* to *Trent* to negotiate a Peace. This Biſhop was employed, as we ſaid before, in eſtabliſhing an Agreement between the King of *France* and *Cæſar* for carrying on the War againſt the *Venetians* with a mighty Force next Spring; and, if the Pope ſhould not obſerve the League of *Cambray*, to convoke a Council. *Cæſar*, being much intent on this laſt Project, had ſummoned together the Prelates of his hereditary States to conſult in what Manner, and at what Place this Council was to be held. But as he was naturally fickle and inconſtant, and an Enemy to the Name of the *French*, he began afterwards to hearken to the Advice of the King of *Aragon*. That Prince reflecting that the Union between *Cæſar* and the *French* King, and the Depreſſion of the *Venetians* by their joint Forces, together with the Downfal of the Pope by means of a Council, would increaſe the Power of the King of *France* to an exorbi-

A. D. 1511.

Advice of the King of *Aragon*.

A. D. 1511. tant Degree, had endeavoured to perſuade *Cæſar* that an univerſal Peace was more for his Purpoſe, provided he could by that Means obtain the whole or the greater Part of what the *Venetians* had uſurped from him. He adviſed him therefore to ſend to *Mantoua* ſome Perſon of known Abilities with full Powers, and to uſe his Intereſt that the King of *France* might make the ſame Step, as he had determined to do himſelf; whence the Pope could not refuſe to concur in the ſame Meaſure, and act in conformity to the Will of ſo many Princes, on whoſe Reſolutions depended thoſe of the *Venetians*, who, to avoid being abandoned and left to themſelves, would be under a Neceſſity to follow their Authority. There was good Reaſon to hope, he ſaid, that *Cæſar*, without Difficulty, without Arms, without increaſing the Power or Reputation of the King of *France*, would, to his infinite Praiſe, together with an univerſal Peace, recover his State. And even ſuppoſing that, contrary to all Expectation, he ſhould not ſucceed, he would ſtill be at Liberty to take the Field at the Time appointed, and with the ſame Advantages.

Advantages. Moreover, as he was the Head of all the Chriſtian Princes, and the Advocate of the Church, it would tend much to his Juſtification, and exalt his Glory to a high Degree, if, by following this Advice, he made it manifeſt to all the World that his chief Deſire was Peace and Union among Chriſtians, and that it was the Obſtinacy and Perverſeneſs of thoſe who would not hearken to good Counſel that conſtrained him to take up Arms. *A. D.* 1511.

THESE Reaſons were convincing to *Cæſar*, and therefore he wrote Letters at the ſame time to the Pontiff, and to the King of *France*. He ſignified to the Pontiff that he had reſolved to ſend the Biſhop of *Goritz* into *Italy*, becauſe he had determined to procure, as much as in him lay, the Tranquillity of the Apoſtolic See, and the Peace of Chriſtendom, as it was becoming a religious Prince, who was, by the Imperial Dignity, the Advocate of the Church, and the Head of all the Chriſtian Princes. He admoniſhed his Holineſs to act in Conformity with him, as it was the Duty of the true Vicar of *Chriſt*, that ſo, *Cæſar's* Letter to the Pope.

A. D. 1511. by duly performing the Office of a Pontiff, he might not conſtrain the Princes to think on Remedies neceſſary for the Quiet of Chriſtians. He did not approve of his Holineſs's ſeeking for Reaſons to deprive the abſent Cardinals of the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, becauſe they did not abſent themſelves out of Malignity, or Hatred againſt his Holineſs, and therefore deſerved no ſuch Puniſhment; and beſides, the Deprivation of a Cardinal did not belong to the Pope alone. He put the Pontiff alſo in mind that it was a very unworthy Act, and of no Benefit, in ſo troubleſome a Juncture, to create new Cardinals, and it was alſo forbidden him in the Articles made and agreed on by the Cardinals at the Time of his Election to the Popedom. He exhorted him to reſerve ſuch a Step for more peaceable Times, in which he would be under no Neceſſity, nor have Cauſe to promote any to ſo great a Dignity but Perſons of a moſt approved Character for Prudence, Learning and Manners.

To the King of *France.* To the King of *France Cæſar* wrote in Subſtance, that knowing the Inclination that

that his Majeſty had always had to a ſafe and honourable Peace, he had reſolved to ſend to *Mantoua* the Biſhop of *Goritz*, in order to treat of an univerſal Peace, to which he had good Reaſons to believe that the Pope, whoſe Authority the *Venetians* would be conſtrained to follow, was really inclined: That the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Aragon* would engage that their Maſter would do the ſame; and therefore he entreated his Majeſty to ſend thither alſo his Ambaſſadors with full Powers: That as ſoon as their Plenipotentiaries were aſſembled together, the Biſhop of *Goritz* ſhould requeſt of the Pope to ſend his Miniſter alſo to the Congreſs, and, in caſe of Refuſal, would denounce to him, in the Name of all the Potentates, a general Council. He added, that in order to proceed with the greater Juſtice, and to put an End to all Controverſies, *Goritz* would hear the Reaſons of each Party. But, whatever happened, he might aſſure himſelf that the *Venetians* would come to no Agreement, if, at the ſame time, all Differences with the Pope were not ſettled.

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511.

THE Pontiff was pleaſed at this Step, not from a View of Peace or Concord, but becauſe he perſuaded himſelf that he could diſpoſe the *Venetian* Senate to come to an Agreement with *Cæſar*, by which that Prince being freed from a Neceſſity of continuing united with the King of *France*, would ſeparate himſelf from him, whence would eaſily reſult a Confederacy of many Princes againſt that King.

Pope pleaſed with a Congreſs.

BUT this unforeſeen Reſolution of *Cæſar* was very diſagreeable to the King of *France*, becauſe, as he had no Hopes that an univerſal Peace would be the Reſult of it, the leaſt Evil he apprehended was the Delay it would occaſion in the Execution of thoſe Operations that he had concerted with *Cæſar*. He was under Apprehenſions alſo that the Pope, by promiſing *Cæſar* to aſſiſt him in conquering the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to *Goritz* the Dignity of a Cardinal, with other Eccleſiaſtical Favours, might ſeparate that Prince from his Alliance, or at leaſt occaſion his coming to a Compoſition with the *Venetian* upon leſs favourable

favourable Terms, when he himſelf would be conſtrained to accept of Peace upon very diſhonourable Conditions. His Jealouſy was increaſed by *Cæſar*'s entering into a new Confederacy with the *Swiſs*, though it was only defenſive: He perſuaded himſelf alſo that the Catholic King had been the Author of this new Meaſure taken by *Cæſar*, and he greatly ſuſpected the Inclination of that Prince upon many Accounts. He knew that his Ambaſſador at *Cæſar*'s Court was buſying himſelf, and openly employed in promoting an Accommodation between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*. He believed that he ſecretly encouraged the Pope, in whoſe Army his Troops had continued for a much longer Term than they were obliged by the Contract of the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He knew that, to obſtruct his Undertakings, he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Calling of a Council, and, under a Pretence of Fitneſs and Decency, had openly condemned the Undertaking of ſuch a Work while *Italy* was embroiled in Wars, and full of armed Forces, declaring, that to hold a Council without the Conſent of

A. D. 1511.

French King ſuſpicious of the King of Aragon.

A. D. 1511. all the Princes could produce nothing but pernicious and malignant Effects. He had Notice alſo that his Catholic Majeſty was preparing a very powerful Fleet, and tho' he had publiſhed abroad that he intended to paſs in Perſon into *Africa*, he could not aſſure himſelf that his Preparations were not intended for ſome other Deſign. His Suſpicions were much increaſed by the ſoft and obliging Way of addreſſing him uſed by *Ferdinando*, in which he intreated his Majeſty, as a Brother, to make Peace with the Pope, even though it were at the Price of receding from his Rights, if it could not be done otherwiſe, that he might not ſhew himſelf a Perſecutor of the Church, contrary to the antient Piety of the Houſe of *France*, nor interrupt the War which he had deſigned for propagating the Chriſtian Faith, againſt the *Moors* in *Africa*, by involving at the ſame time all Chriſtendom in Contentions. He added, that it had been always the Cuſtom of Chriſtian Princes, when they took up Arms againſt the Infidels, to demand, in ſo pious a Cauſe, the Aſſiſtance of others; but as for himſelf, he was contented if he was not hindered,

dered, and that he desired no other Aid or Encouragement from him than only to consent that *Italy* should remain in Peace. *A. D.* 1511. These plausible Expressions of the Sentiments of the King of *Aragon*, though presented to the King by the *Spanish* Ambassador, and spoken by *Ferdinando* himself to the *French* Ambassador resident at his Court, in a very insinuating Way, and with great Demonstrations of Love, appeared to the King of *France* as containing a tacit Protestation of his taking up Arms in favour of the Pope, which it was probable he would not venture to do without Hopes of inducing *Cæsar* to do the same.

The King was much disturbed with such Reflections, and greatly suspected that to treat of a Peace by means of the Bishop of *Goritz* would be either fruitless, or prejudicial to his Interest. That he might not, however, give any Cause of Offence to *Cæsar*, he resolved to send to *Mantoua* the Bishop of *Paris*, a Prelate of great Authority, and a learned Civilian. At the same time he signified to *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, who had his Head Quarters at *Sermidi*, and,

A. D. 1511. and, for the greater Conveniency of Lodging and Proviſions, had diſtributed the Army into ſeveral of the circumjacent Towns, that it was his Will that the War ſhould be under his Direction, but with this Limitation, that, till the Arrival of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, who was ſoon expected, he ſhould undertake nothing againſt the Eccleſiaſtic State, which indeed was not in his Power to do on account of the unuſual Severity of the Seaſon, for, though it was the Beginning of *March*, it was not poſſible for the Troops to lodge without Covert. *Trivulzio* therefore, having no Opportunity to make any other Attempt, reſolved to try if he couldnot, ſince the Enemy was poſted ſo near him, find a Way to attack or diſtreſs them. They had extended their Quarters when *Chaumont* returned from *Sermidi* to *Carpi*, and lodged all the Infantry at *Bondino*, and the Cavalry at *Finale* and the neighbouring Villages. The General then, having received the King's Commiſſion, marched the next Day to *Stellata*, and the Day following advanced ſomewhat farther, where he diſtributed his Army under Covert in the circumjacent

Operations of the *French* Army.

circumjacent Villages; and having laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Po*, between *Stellata* and *Ficheruolo*, he appointed the Duke of *Ferrara* to lay another Bridge a Mile lower at a Place called the *Point*, on that Branch of the *Po* that goes up to *Ferrara*, and to come with a Train of Artillery to the *Spedaletto*, a Place in the Poleſine* of *Ferrara*, which lies over againſt *Bondino*. In the mean time *Trivulzio* had Notice by his Spies, that a large Detachment of light Horſe of that Part of the *Venetian* Army which was beyond the *Po* was appointed to approach the next Night to *Mirandola*, to lie there in Ambuſh; on which he gave ſecret Orders to a good Body of Horſe to march thither. Theſe arriving at *Bellaere*, a Palace in the Territory of *Mirandola*, fell upon *Fra Lionardo*, a *Neapolitan*, Captain of the *Venetian* light Horſe, and an Officer of great Reputation in the Army, who, not having the leaſt Apprehenſions of the Coming of the Enemy, had, with an Hundred and Fifty others, diſmounted, and were in expectation to be followed by a greater Number; but being ſurpriſed, A. D. 1511.

* Marſhes.

A. D. 1511. ſurpriſed, and ſtanding on the Defenſive, *Lionardo*, with many others of his Troop, were killed*. *Alfonſo d'Eſte* came to the *Spedaletto*, according to Appointment, and the next Night began to fire with his Artillery againſt *Bondino*; and at the ſame time *Trivulzio* ordered Monſ. *Gaſton de Foix*, Son of the King's Siſter, who was yet very young, and came into the Army the Year before, to make an Excurſion with an Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horſe, and Five Hundred Foot, as far as the Barricades of the Enemy's Quarters. This Detachment put to flight an Hundred and Fifty Foot appointed to guard that Side, whence the reſt of the Enemy's Troops, leaving ſome Men to defend *Bondino*, retired over the Canal to a Place ſtrongly ſituated. *Trivulzio*, however, did not ſucceed in any of his Deſigns; for the Artillery planted againſt *Bondino*, the *Po* lying between, did but little Execution becauſe of the Diſtance, and much more becauſe the *Po* being ſwelled,

* *Fra Lionardo* of *Otranto* was a Knight of *Jeruſalem*. His Brethren placed his Statue on Horſeback in the Church of *St. Giovanni* and *Paolo*, where it ſtands to this Day.

ſwelled, and its Banks cut by the Garriſon of *Bondino*, the Country was ſo overflowed, that there was no Acceſs from the *French* Camp to *Bondino* but by Boats. Hence the General deſpairing of penetrating to the Enemy's Quarters by that Avenue, ſent for Two Thouſand *German* Foot from *Verona*, and ordered a Levy of Three Thouſand *Griſons*, with a Deſign to approach them by the Way of *San Felice*, if a Treaty of Peace did not interpoſe by means of the Biſhop of *Goritz*. *A. D.* 1512.

THE Arrival of that Prelate was ſomewhat retarded by his waiting ſeveral Days at *Salo* on the Lake of *Garda*, in fruitleſs Expectations of an Anſwer from the Pope, whom he had ſollicited by Letters to ſend his Ambaſſadors to the Congreſs. But at length he arrived at *Mantoua*, accompanied by Don *Pedro d'Urrea*, Reſident in ordinary of the King of *Aragon* with *Cæſar*. A few Days after arrived the Biſhop of *Paris* from the King of *France*, who was come as far as *Lions*, that he might be nearer to the Negotiations of Peace and the Proviſions of War, perſuading himſelf that the

Congreſs of *Mantoua*.

A. D. 1511. the Pontiff would alſo ſend his Plenipotentiary. But his Holineſs on the other Side inſiſted that the Biſhop ſhould wait on him, being induced not ſo much becauſe it appeared to him moſt ſuitable to the Pontifical Dignity, as becauſe he was in Hopes that by honouring that Prelate, and loading him with Promiſes, and by the Efficacy and Authority of his Preſence, he might induce him to comply with his own Inclinations, which were more averſe than ever to Concord and Peace; and that he might the more eaſily perſuade the Biſhop to come to *Rome*, he procured *Girolamo Vich* the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at his Court to wait on him.

Reaſons of *Goritz* for his not waiting on the Pope.

Goritz did not refuſe to wait on his Holineſs, but ſaid he required of him to do that firſt which was more proper to be done afterwards. He aſſerted that it was eaſier to remove Difficulties by treating firſt at *Mantoua*; that he intended to pay Obedience to his Holineſs when Matters were digeſted and in a Manner concluded; and that he was reſtrained from complying with the Pope's Deſire, not only with reſpect

ſpect to the Facility of Succeſs, but alſo as much by Neceſſity: For how was it poſſible for him, without breaking the Laws of Decency and Good Manners, to leave alone by himſelf the Biſhop of *Paris*, who was deputed by the King of *France* to *Mantoua* at the Inſtances of *Cæſar*? With what Hopes could that Prelate then pretend to treat of the Affairs of the King his Maſter? Or where would be the Fitneſs of requeſting him to go along with him to the Pope, ſince neither his Commiſſion, nor the Dignity of his King would ſuffer him to go into the Houſe of an Enemy before their Differences were compoſed, or at leaſt in a fair Way of Accommodation? A. D. 1511.

THE two *Aragoneſe* Ambaſſadors argued to the contrary, by ſhewing that all the Hopes of Peace depended on accommodating the Affair of *Ferrara*, becauſe if that could be effected the Pope would no longer have any Cauſe to ſupport the *Venetians*, who then would be under a Neceſſity of accepting a Peace on ſuch Conditions as *Cæſar* himſelf ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe: That the Pope pretended that the Arguments of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors to the contrary.

A. D. 1511. the Apoſtolic See had very ſtrong Claims upon the City of *Ferrara*; that beſides he thought himſelf treated by *Alfonſo d'Eſte* with great Ingratitude, and to have ſuffered great Injuries from him; and to pacify his Indignation, which was highly provoked, it was fitter and more to the Purpoſe for the Vaſſal to crave the Mercy of his Superior than to call in Queſtion his Juſtice. For this Reaſon it was not only meet, but in a manner neceſſary, in order to obtain that Clemency, for the Biſhop to remove to *Rome*, and argue the Caſe before the Pope, which they did not doubt would ſoften his Spirit, and diſpoſe him to abate much of the Rigor of his Severity; and they thought it much to be regretted that ſo much Induſtry, Diligence and Authority, which ought to have been employed in diſpoſing the Pope to a Peace, ſhould be thrown away in perſuading him to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Congreſs. They added, in very plauſible Speeches, that there could be no Diſputation, nor Termination of Differences where all the Parties did not intervene; but that at *Mantoua* there was but one Party, for *Cæſar*, the Moſt Chriſtian

Chriſtian King, and the Catholic King were ſo linked together in Leagues, Affinities and Affection, that they ought to be reputed as Brothers, and the Intereſt of each Particular as common to them all. *Goritz* at laſt conſented to go, while it was agreed that the Biſhop of *Paris* ſhould ſtay at *Parma*, in expectation of the Succeſs of his Journey. A. D. 1511.

THE Pontiff at this Time, while theſe Steps were making towards a Peace, had not laid aſide the Thoughts of War, but reſolved to make a new Attempt on the Fort of *Genivolo*, and committed the Conduct of it to *Giovanni Vitelli*. But the Number of Foot being much leſs than was deſigned, on account of the Scantineſs of the Pay, and the Grounds about the Fort being laid under Water by the Rains, and becauſe the Garriſon had cut the Dikes, no Progreſs was made in the Siege. *Alfonſo d' Eſte* alſo had the Superiority on the Waters; for having with his Fleet of Gallies and Brigantines attacked near *S. Alberto* the *Venetian* Fleet, the *Venetians*, during the Fight, being

A. D. 1511. terrified at the Diſcovery of a Fleet of ſmaller Veſſels coming from *Comacchio*, fled into the Port of *Ravenna*, with the Loſs of two Fuſti, three Barbotti *, and above Forty ſmaller Veſſels; hence the Pope loſt all Hopes of taking the Fort, and ſent the Troops that lay before it to the Camp at *Finale*.

Pope fails to take *Genivolo*.

At the ſame time the Pope created Eight Cardinals, with a View partly to procure the Good Will of the Princes, and partly to fortify himſelf againſt the Threats of a Council by the Aſſiſtance of learned and experienced Prelates, and ſuch as were of Authority in the Court of *Rome*: Amongſt theſe Cardinals was the Archbiſhop of *York*, called by the *Latins* *Eboracenſis*, Ambaſſador of the King of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Sion*; this latter, as a Perſon of Importance for putting in Motion the Nation of the *Swiſs*; and the former at the Sollicitations of his King, whom he was in no ſmall Hopes of exciting againſt the *French*. And to give the Biſhop of *Goritz*, as it were, a ſure

Makes a Promotion of Cardinals.

* A Sort of Lighter.

ſure Earneſt of the ſame Dignity, and by the Hopes of it to render him the more ſupple and compliant to his Deſires, he reſerved, with the Conſent of the Conſiſtory, the Power of nominating another reſerved *in Petto* *. A. D. 1511.

When his Holineſs underſtood that the Biſhop of *Goritz* had conſented to come to him, he thought fit to receive him with diſtinguiſhing Honours, and thinking that none could be greater than for a *Roman* Pontiff to put himſelf on the Way to meet him, and alſo deſirous, for the greater Conveniency of honouring him, to receive him in a magnificent City, he went from *Ravenna* to *Bologna*, into which, the third Day after his Arrival, the Biſhop of *Goritz* made his Entry, and was received with ſuch Marks of Honour that a King could hardly expect greater. Nor did the Biſhop fall ſhort of the Pope in Pomp and Mag-

 nificence;

* *In Petto*, from the *Latin in Pectore*, literally, in *Engliſh*, *in the Breaſt*; ſo that to reſerve *in Petto* is the ſame as what we often ſay, *to reſerve in our Breaſt*. A Cardinal *in Petto* is in fact a Cardinal from the Time of ſuch Creation.

A. D. 1511. nificence; for being *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant in *Italy*, he was attended by a vaſt Train of Lords and Noblemen, all with their Servants in Liveries moſt ſplendidly adorned. At the Gate of the City he was met by the *Venetian* Ambaſſador reſident at the Pope's Court, who paid him his Reſpects with the moſt profound Submiſſion; but the Biſhop, full of Pride beyond Imagination, turning towards the Ambaſſador, with Marks of the utmoſt Scorn and Indignation both in Words and Geſtures, ſhewed himſelf highly affronted that one who repreſented the Enemies of *Cæſar* had dared to preſent himſelf before his Sight. *Goritz* was conducted in the moſt pompous Manner to a public Conſiſtory, where the Pope and all the Cardinals attended his Coming, before whom, in a ſhort Speech, but in a very haughty Strain, he declared that *Cæſar* had ſent him into *Italy* out of a Deſire to obtain his Rights rather by the Way of Peace than of War, and that this could not be effected, if the *Venetians* did not reſtore all that in any manner whatſoever belonged to him. After this public Audience, he had

Proud Behaviour of the Biſhop of *Goritz*.

had a private Conference with the Pope, where he declared the ſame Sentiments, and with the ſame Haughtineſs. The next Day he ſhewed no leſs Pride in his Actions than he had done in his Speeches and Behaviour: For the Pontiff having, with his own Conſent, deputed the three Cardinals, of *St. Giorgio*, *Regino*, and *de' Medici*, to treat with him, they waited for him at the Time appointed for their Meeting; but the Biſhop, as if it was beneath him to treat with any but the Pope, ſent three of his Gentlemen to treat with them, excuſing himſelf on his being employed on other Affairs. The Pope ſwallowed this Indignity with many others, his invincible Hatred againſt the *French* getting the better of his natural Temper. *A. D.* 1511.

IN treating of an Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, which was the firſt Thing brought upon the Carpet, many Difficulties occurred: For tho' *Goritz*, who had at firſt demanded the whole *Terra firma*, conſented at laſt that *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, with their whole

A. D. 1511. Territories and Appurtenances, ſhould remain in the Poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*; yet he inſiſted on their paying to *Cæſar* a very large Sum of Money in recompenſe *, and that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves his Feudatories for theſe Cities, and renounce all their Claims to the other Towns. Theſe Demands were rejected by the Senate, who unanimouſly concluded that, ſince they had fortified *Padoua* and *Trevigi* in ſuch a Manner that they were not afraid of loſing them, it was more for the Intereſt of the Republic to keep their Money; for, when the preſent Storm was once paſſed over their Heads, ſome favourable Opportunity might preſent itſelf for recovering the reſt of their Dominions.

Cæſar's exorbitant Demands rejected by the Venetians.

On the other hand the Pontiff was ardently deſirous that the *Venetians* ſhould agree with *Cæſar*, in hopes that the Conſequence of ſuch an Agreement would be the Diſſolution of the Union between that

* Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns for the Inveſtiture of *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, and Fifty Thouſand Crowns a Year High-Rent or Fee-Money. *Buonac.*

that Prince and the King of *France*. With this View he was continually ſtimulating, both by Intreaties and Menaces, the Senate to accept of the Conditions propoſed. But his Authority had not ſo much Weight with them, not only becauſe they knew the Motives that prompted him to this extreme Sollicitude, but becauſe they were ſenſible how neceſſary their Alliance would be to him if he ſhould not reconcile himſelf with the King of *France*, and therefore aſſured themſelves that he would never abandon them. At length, however, after a Diſpute of many Days, the Biſhop abating ſomewhat of his Stiffneſs, and the *Venetians* ſhewing more Compliance than they had intended, at the moſt preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, ſeconded by the Interpoſition of the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Aragon*, who were preſent at all the Debates, the two Parties ſeemed to be agreed, the *Venetians* paying for *Cæſar's* Conſent to their keeping Poſſeſſion of *Padoua* and *Trevigi* a great Sum of Money, but at very diſtant Times*. A. D. 1511.

Agreement between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*.

* The aboveſaid Sum of Two Hundred Thouſand Crowns, and Fifty Thouſand Crowns a Year, but without any

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IT now remained to find ſome Means for effecting a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King of *France*, who ſeemed to have no other Cauſe for their Difference but the Affairs of the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Goritz*, in order to put an End to this Controverſy, becauſe *Cæſar* had reſolved to come to no Agreement unleſs this Point was ſettled, went to confer with the Pope, whom he had very rarely viſited, perſuading himſelf, by the Hopes which were infuſed into him by the Cardinal of *Pavia* and the Ambaſſadors of the Catholic King, that it would not be difficult for him to ſucceed. And as for the King of *France*, he was very well aſſured that he had leſs Regard to his Dignity than to his Quiet, and was therefore diſpoſed to conſent to many Things, though prejudicial to the Duke of *Ferrara*. But he had hardly entered upon his Diſcourſe when the

any other Acknowledgment; but there ſtill remained ſome Difference about the Patriarchate of *Aquileia*. *Moc. Buonac.* This Diſpute about the Patriarchate of *Aquileia* was lately revived, and was not determined till the Pope divided it into two Biſhopricks, one ſubject to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the other to the *Venetians*.

the Pope interrupted him, and adviſed him to mind his Agreement with the *Venetians*, and not meddle with the Affairs of *Ferrara**; lamenting that *Cæſar* ſhould be ignorant what a fine Opportunity he had of revenging himſelf for the many Injuries he had received of the *French*, with the Forces, and at the Expence of others; and that he ſhould expect to be intreated for what in all Reaſon he ought to ſupplicate with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs. The Biſhop replied, and enforced his Diſcourſe with many Reaſons, but could not make the Pope alter his Sentiments, and therefore ſignified his Deſire to depart, without putting a further Hand to the finiſhing of the Peace with the *Venetians*. Then, after kiſſing the Pope's Feet, according to Cuſtom, he ſet out the ſame Day, which was the fifteenth after his Arrival at *Bologna*, for *Modena*, the Pope ſending in vain to recal him as ſoon as he was gone out of the City. From *Modena* he directed his Journey to *Milan*, complaining of the Pope

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Biſhop of *Goritz* leaves *Bologna* without Succeſs.

* As ſoon as the Biſhop of *Goritz* began to ſpeak of *Ferrara*, the Pope anſwered he would make no Alteration, but would ſooner throw away the Popedom, and his own Life after it, than debate on that Subject. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1511. Pope for many Reaſons, and particularly that while there was, on account of his Coming into *Italy*, in a manner, a Suſpenſion of Arms, he had with all Secreſy ſent the Biſhop of *Vintimiglia*, Son of the late Cardinal *Pagolo Fregoſo*, to diſturb the State of *Genoa*. But the *French* having Intelligence of his Coming, cauſed him to be apprehended as he went in Diſguiſe through the *Monſerrat*, from whence he was conducted to *Milan*, where he made a full Diſcovery of the Cauſes and Intentions of his Journey.

THE Biſhop of *Goritz*, at his Departure from *Bologna*, ſollicited the *Aragoneſe* Ambaſſadors, who to all Appearance took great Pains to effect an univerſal Peace, and ſeemed to be very ſorry for the Inflexibility of the Pope, to procure the Return of the Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances into the Kingdom of *Naples*; to which they readily conſented. Hence every one was ſurpriſed that at a Time when a Council was in Agitation, and it was expected that the powerful Armies of the *French* and *Germans*, with the two Kings at their Heads,

Myſterious Conduct of the Pope and of the King of *Aragon*.

Heads, would overſpread *Italy*, the Pontiff, who was already at Enmity with the King of *France*, ſhould forfeit the Good-will of *Cæſar*, and deprive himſelf of the Aſſiſtance of the Catholic King. Some doubted that in this, as well as in many other Caſes, the Deſigns of the King of *Aragon* were different from what they appeared in outward Show, and that his Ambaſſadors acted one Part in public, and and another Part in ſecret with the Pontiff. For that Prince having provoked the King of *France* by new Offences, and ſo revived the Memory of old Injuries, ſeemed to have Reaſon to fear that Peace between all the other Parties would create very great Danger to himſelf; the *Venetians* remaining much weakened in Dominion, Money and Reputation, and the King of the *Romans* having but little Power in *Italy*, and being more fickle, inconſtant, and prodigal than ever. Others reaſoning with more Subtilty interpreted the Matter otherwiſe, imagining that the Pope might perhaps be confident that the King of *Aragon*, though he had proteſted that he would abandon him, and had recalled his Troops, when he

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conſidered

A. D. 1511. conſidered how much his Depreſſion would prejudice his own Intereſt, would always take the greater Care to ſupport him.

THE Departure of the Biſhop of *Goritz* confounded the Hopes of Peace, though the Pope four Days afterwards ſent after him the Biſhop of *Moravia*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Scotland* reſident at his Court, in order to treat of an Agreement with the King of *France*. The Cauſes therefore of retarding the Operations of War under *Gianjacopo da Trivulzio* being now removed, that General was inſpired with a laudable Ambition of performing ſome Exploit worthy of his Valour and antient Renown, by which he could demonſtrate to the King how vaſtly prejudicial it muſt be to his Affairs to commit the Management of Wars, an Office, above all other human Tranſactions, the moſt laborious, and moſt difficult, and that requires the greateſt Prudence and Experience, not to the Direction of Veteran Commanders, but of unexperienced Youths, of whoſe Qualifications there are no Teſtimonials, and who have nothing to recommend them but

but courtly Favour. The *Griſon* Infantry were not yet arrived, becauſe the General of *Normandy*, who had the Care of the Expeditions, hoping that the Peace would go forward, and willing to ingratiate himſelf with the King by ſaving Expences, had delayed to ſend Orders for Levies. *Trivulzio*, however, though diſappointed of the *Griſons*, purſuant to his firſt Reſolution, in the Beginning of *May*, with an Army of Twelve Hundred Lances and Seven Thouſand Foot, laid Siege to *Concordia*, and took it the ſame Day. For the Inhabitants of the Place being terrified at the Noiſe and Execution of the Artillery, ſent out Deputies to treat about a Surrendry, which giving Occaſion to the Garriſon to be negligent of their Guard, the Beſiegers ſcaled the Walls, and got into the Town, and plundered it. After the Reduction of *Concordia*, the General, to avoid giving Occaſion to his Rivals to reproach him with regarding his own Intereſt more than that of the King, leaving *Mirandola* behind him, directed his March to *Buonporto*, a Village ſeated on the River *Panaro*, in order to approach ſo near the Enemy,

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Progreſs of the *French* Army.

A. D. 1511. Enemy, as that, by intercepting their Convoys of Proviſions, he might conſtrain them to diſlodge, and give him an Opportunity to engage them out of the Strength of their Entrenchments. When he was entered the *Modeneſe*, and encamped at the Village of *Cavezzo*, having Advice that *Gian Pagol Manfrone* with Three Hundred *Venetian* light Horſe lay at *Maſſa* near *Finale*, he detached thither *Gaſton de Foix*, with Three Hundred Foot and Five Hundred Horſe. As ſoon as *Gian Pagolo* had Notice of their Coming, he drew up his Men in Order upon a Bridge. But they did not anſwer the Boldneſs and Animoſity of their Leader, for he was abandoned by them, and, with ſome few others that ſtood by him, taken Priſoner. After this the Army approached *Buonporto*, *Trivulzio* deſigning to lay a Bridge where a Canal dug from the *Panaro* above *Modena* joins with the River. But the Enemy to prevent his Paſſage came and poſted themſelves ſo near him, that the Armies cannonaded each other, and *Perault*, a *Spaniſh* Captain in the Eccleſiaſtic Army, was killed by a Cannon Ball, as he was patrolling

ling along the Bank of the River. The Banks being very high in that Place, it was eaſy for the Enemy to hinder the Paſſing of the River, and therefore *Trivulzio* changed his Deſign, and laid a Bridge a Mile higher, over the Canal, which he paſſed, and directed his March towards the City of *Modena*, taking his Rout along the Bank of the *Panaro* in Search of the moſt commodious Place for laying a Bridge, and always in View of the Horſe and Foot of the Enemy, who were encamped at *Caſtel Franco*, on the *Roman* Road in a Place ſurrounded with Dikes and Waters. *Trivulzio* in his Way paſſed over the Bridge of *Foſſalto*, two Miles from *Modena*, and then turning on the right Hand towards the *Mantouan* paſſed the *Panaro* without Obſtruction at a Ford, the River at that Place having a wide Channel and no Banks. Having paſſed the River he encamped at a Place called the *Ghiara di Panaro*, three Miles diſtant from the Eccleſiaſtic Army. The next Day he purſued his March towards *Piumaccio*, being ſupplied with Proviſions, by Conſent of *Vitfruſt*, from the *Modeneſe*. On the ſame Day

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A. D. 1511. Day the Eccleſiaſtic Army, not daring to make any Oppoſition in the open Field, and thinking it neceſſary to approach towards *Bologna*, for preventing any Commotion in that City, conſidering that the *Bentivogli* attended the *French* Army, encamped at the Bridge of *Caſalecchio*, three Miles above *Bologna*. At this Place, in the Days of our Great Grandfathers, *Giovan Galeazzo Viſconte*, a very powerful Duke of *Milan*, and much ſuperior in Strength to his Enemies, obtained a Signal Victory over the *Florentines*, *Bologneſe*, and others their Confederates. It is a very ſecure Situation for a Camp, lying between the River *Reno* and the Canal, and having the Mountain behind it, preſerves *Bologna* from being deprived of the Benefit of the Canal which is cut from the River, and paſſes through that City. *Caſtel Franco* ſurrendered the next Day to *Trivulzio*, who, after he had ſtoped three Days in his Camp at *Piumaccio*, on account of the Rains, and to provide himſelf with Victuals, which began to be ſcarce, came and encamped on the high Road between *Samoggia* and *Caſtel Franco*. Here he ſtood

in

in Suſpenſe as to his further Operations, many Difficulties preſenting themſelves to obſtruct the Execution of whatever Deſigns he could form. For he knew it was in vain to attack *Bologna*, if the People did not make a Tumult, and if he ſhould approach the Place in hopes of a popular Commotion, he doubted he ſhould be conſtrained ſuddenly to retire, as *Chaumont* had done before, with Diſgrace. It would be more imprudent and dangerous to go and attack the Enemies entrenched in ſo ſtrong a Camp. To approach *Bologna* on the lower Part of the Town, could anſwer no other View than give him a doubtful Hope of inducing the Enemy, from an Apprehenſion of an Invaſion of *Romagna*, to put themſelves in Motion, and by that Means afford an Opportunity for an Engagement, and for the *Bologneſe* to raiſe a Tumult. At laſt, however, it was reſolved to try whether any Advantage could be gained from the general Diſpoſition of the Citizens, or from the particular Correſpondences of the *Bentivogli*. The Army therefore, the Van-guard led by *Teodoro da Trivulzio*, the main Battle by

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A. D. 1511. the General himſelf, and the Rear-guard by *Gaſton de Foix*, advanced and took Poſt at the Bridge of *Laino*, a Place on the main Road, at the Diſtance of five Miles from *Bologna*, and memorable for the Conference between *Lepidus*, *Mark Antony*, and *Octavius*, in which, as Hiſtorians relate, under the Name of a Triumvirate, they eſtabliſhed a Tyranny at *Rome*, together with that never enough deteſted Proſcription*.

THE Pope was not at this Time in *Bologna*; for after the Departure of the Biſhop of *Goritz*, ſometimes Boldneſs, ſometimes Fear getting the Aſcendant in his Temper, as ſoon as he was informed that *Trivulzio* had taken the Field, though the *Spaniſh* Lances had left him, he ſet out from *Bologna* for the Army, with a Deſign to induce the Generals, by his Preſence, to come to a Battle with the Enemy, to which he had not been able to diſpoſe them neither by Letters nor Meſſages. He left *Bologna* with a Deſign to lodge the firſt Night at *Cento*, but was obliged to ſtop

* See *Appian. Alex.* de Bel. Civil. Lib. 3. and *Plutarch* in the Life of *Mark Antony*.

ſtop ſhort at the Town of *Pieve*, becauſe a Thouſand of his Foot had entered *Cento*, and were reſolved not to quit that Place before they had received their Pay, which perhaps raiſed his Indignation, and on this account, or elſe becauſe he conſidered the Danger more nearly, he returned the next Day to *Bologna*, where his Fears increaſing with the Approach of *Trivulzio*, he reſolved to betake himſelf to *Ravenna*. But firſt he ſummoned an Aſſembly of the Magiſtracy of Forty, and in a Speech reminded them how by the Favour of the Apoſtolic See, and by his own Care and Fatigue, they had been freed from the Yoke of a moſt oppreſſive Tyranny, and had obtained their Liberty, together with many Exemptions and Privileges, and had received from him many very conſiderable Favours both in public and private, and were likely to receive more Marks of his Benevolence every Day: By which Means, whereas before they laboured under a moſt ſevere Bondage, ſcorned and trampled under Foot by Tyrants, and were of no Eſteem Reputation among other Cities of *Italy*, they were now exalted to Honours and

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Pope's Speech to the *Bolognese*.

A. D. 1511. Riches, their City was full of Artificers and Merchants, and ſome of their own Citizens were preferred to the higheſt Places; they were valued and eſteemed every where, were at their own Liberty, and entire Maſters of *Bologna* and all its Territory; for they choſe their own Magiſtrates, and ſhared the Places of Honour among themſelves, and the public Revenues were diſtributed in their own City. The Church had little more than the Name of Sovereignty, and the Right of maintaining among them, and that only as a Mark of its Superiority, a Legate or Governor, who without their Concurrence could come to no Reſolution in Affairs of Importance, in which, even when they referred to his Arbitration, he always conſulted their Opinion and Pleaſure. He aſſured them that if, in conſideration of theſe Benefits, and of the happy State in which they were ſituated, they were diſpoſed to defend their own Liberty, he would take the ſame Care to aſſiſt and ſupport them, as he would, in a like Caſe, to aſſiſt and defend *Rome*. He was neceſſitated, he ſaid, by the weighty Concerns of the preſent

ſent Juncture to depart for *Ravenna*, but he had not forgot, nor intended by this Step to forget, to provide for the Safety of *Bologna*: For which End he had given Orders that the *Venetian* Forces, under the Command of *Andrea Gritti*, on the other Side the *Po*, ſhould march to join his own Army; for which Intent they were now laying a Bridge at *Sermidi*. That theſe Proviſions were more than ſufficient for their Defence, but not to ſet his Mind at Reſt before he had alſo delivered them from the Troubles of War: And therefore to oblige the *French* to march back with their Forces to defend their own Dominions, a Body of Ten Thouſand *Swiſs* was already prepared to make a Deſcent into the State of *Milan*; and that they might the more ſpeedily put themſelves in Motion, he had remitted to *Venice* Twenty Thouſand Ducats, and the *Venetians* had ordered them the like Sum. But if they could ſtill think themſelves happier in returning under the Slavery of the *Bentivogli*, than to enjoy the Sweets of Eccleſiaſtic Liberty, he intreated them freely to declare their Intentions, becauſe by

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A. D. 1511. them he would regulate his Meaſures; but he would have them remember that if they did reſolve to defend themſelves, the Time was come in which they had a fair Opportunity to ſhew their Generoſity, and to lay an eternal Obligation on the Apoſtolic See, himſelf, and all future Popes.

Anſwer of the *Bologneſe.*

To this Harangue of the Pope, which, according to his Manner, was rather vehement than eloquent, after it had been conſidered in common Council, the Preſident of the Government made Anſwer in the Name of all the reſt, in the *Bologneſe* bombaſtic Style, magnifying their Loyalty, their Gratitude for the Benefits they had received from him, and their unlimited Devotion to his Intereſt. They were ſenſible, he ſaid, of their happy Situation, and how vaſtly the Riches and Splendor of their City were augmented by the Expulſion of the Tyrants: And whereas before their Lives and Fortunes were in Subjection to the arbitrary Will of others, they could now every one ſit down in Security of all they poſſeſſed, and enjoy the Bleſſings of their Country in Peace. They had

had now a Share in the Government, a Share in the Revenues; and there was not one among them who had not in particular received of his Holineſs many Favours and Honours. They ſaw renewed in their City the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, they ſaw conferred on their Citizens many Prelacies, and many of the principal Offices of the Court of *Rome*. For theſe innumerable Favours, and moſt ſingular Benefits, they were diſpoſed to ſpend all their Fortunes, to expoſe to Danger the Honcur and Safety of their Wives and Children, and to loſe their own Lives, before they would revolt from his Obedience, and from the Apoſtolic See. His Holineſs might therefore go in Peace, joyful and happy, without any Fear or Concern about the Affairs of *Bologna*; for he ſhould ſooner hear that their whole Canal ran with the Blood of the *Bologneſe*, than that their City invoked any other Name, or obeyed any other Lord, than Pope *Julius*. A. D. 1511.

This fair Speech found more Credit than it deſerved with the Pope, who leaving the Cardinal of *Pavia* in *Bologna*, ſet out Pope leaves *Bologna*.

A. D. 1511. for *Ravenna*, not by the direct Road, tho' he was attended by the *Spaniſh* Lances, who were on their Return to *Naples*, but taking the longer Way about by *Forli* for fear of the Duke of *Ferrara*.

TRIVULZIO being advanced to the Bridge of *Laino*, the City of *Bologna* was all in an Uproar, the Minds of the People being variouſly agitated according to their different Affections and Intereſts. Many accuſtomed to a licentious Life under a Tyranny, and to maintain themſelves with the Money and Effects of their Neighbours, hated the Eccleſiaſtic Government, and ardently wiſhed the Return of the *Bentivogli*. Others quite dejected, and in Deſpair by the Loſſes they had ſuſtained, and feared to ſuſtain on ſeeing two ſuch Armies entered on their Eſtates, and at a Time when Harveſt was near, longed for any Change, whatever it might be, that would deliver them from theſe Evils. Others again being under Apprehenſions that by means of the Tumult which might ariſe among the People, or by the proſperous Succeſs of the *French*, whoſe unruly Efforts,

Efforts, when they came the firſt Time, *A. D.* 1511. under *Chaumont*, to *Bologna*, they had ſtill before their Eyes, the City would be plundered, preferred a Deliverance from that Danger before any Government or Dominion whatſoever. And a few, who had ſhewed themſelves Enemies to the *Bentivogli*, favoured, though more in their Hearts than in their Actions, the Dominion of the Church. Thus all the Inhabitants being in Arms, either out of a Deſire of Change, or for their own Safety and Security, and every Place full of Fear and Terror, the Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Legate of *Bologna*, had neither Courage nor Prudence adapted to ſo dangerous a Juncture. For having In that great and populous City no more than Two Hundred light Horſe and One Thouſand Foot, and the Miſunderſtanding between him and the Duke of *Urbino*, who was with the Army at *Caſalecchio*, prevailing more than ever*, he had by

* *Giovio*, in his Elogy of *Franceſco Aliodiſio*, Cardinal of *Pavia*, ſays, that the Cauſe of the Diſagreement between the Cardinal and the Duke was the Pope's refuſing to grant the Cardinal the Lordſhip of *Imola* which he coveted, and which moved him to enter into a treaſonable Correſpondence with the *French*, in hopes to obtain his Ends

A. D. 1511. by Chance or Deſtiny, elected fifteen Captains out of the Number of Citizens, to whom, together with their Companies and the People, he had committed the Guard of the Town and of the Gates. But as he wanted Prudence in making his Choice, the greater Part of theſe Captains were in the Intereſt of the *Bentivogli*. Among them was one *Lorenzo de gli Arioſti*, who had before been impriſoned and tortured in *Rome* on Suſpicion of conſpiring with the *Bentivogli*, and was for a long time afterwards confined in *Caſtel Sant Angelo*. Theſe Leaders, as ſoon as they were inveſted with their new Authority, and had Arms in their Hands, began to hold private Conferences and Meetings, and to diſperſe ſcandalous Reports among the People. And the Legate beginning too late to blame himſelf for his Imprudence, in order to avoid the Danger in which he had involved himſelf, feigned that he was ſollicited by the Duke of *Urbino*, and other Commanders

Ends by their Aſſiſtance. Hence, by treacherous Artifices, he was continually raiſing Obſtacles to the Duke in the Management of the War, by delaying the Payments, and retarding the neceſſary Proviſions, in order to facilitate the Succeſs of the *French*.

Commanders to repair to the Army with thoſe new raiſed Companies. But their Leaders anſwered that they were reſolved not to abandon the Guard of the Town. He then attempted to introduce within the Walls *Ramazotto* with his Regiment of a Thouſand Foot; but the People would not ſuffer him to enter their Gates. The Cardinal then, having loſt all Courage, and being conſcious that his Government was had in utter Deteſtation by the People, and that he had many Enemies among the Nobleſſe, becauſe he had not long before, as he ſaid by Orders from the Pope, aſſuming a royal Power, beheaded three honourable Citizens*, as ſoon as it was Night, diſguiſed himſelf, and, through a private Paſſage from the Palace, retired into the Cittadel, and with ſo much Precipitation that he forgot to take his Money and Jewels with him. He immediately gave Orders to have them brought, and as ſoon as he had received them ſet out from the Gate

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* *Giovio* ſays the Pope gave no ſuch Orders; and further informs us that there were four beheaded, of whom he gives us the Names, and ſays they were very innocent Perſons.

A. D. 1511. Gate called *il Soccorſo* for *Imola*, attended by *Guido Vaina*, who had married his Siſter, and commanded his Horſeguards, with a Hundred Horſe; and he was followed not long after by *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, who left the Cittadel with no other Attendance than a Guide. As ſoon as it was known that the Legate was fled, the whole City was in a Tumult, and began every where to cry up the Name of the People*. *Lorenzo de gli Arioſti*, and *Franceſco Rinucci*, who was one of the fifteen Captains, and in the Intereſt of the *Bentivogli*, would not loſe ſo fair an Opportunity, but, followed by many of the ſame Faction, ran to the Gates of *San Felice* and *Lame* that lay moſt commodious for the *French* Camp, and broke them open with Bars and Axes; and being poſſeſſed of them ſent without Delay to call the *Bentivogli*, who being furniſhed by *Trivulzio* with a good Number of *French* Horſe, in order to avoid the direct Road by the Bridge of *Reno*, which was

Legate flies from *Bologna*.

* *Name* is well known to ſignify Power or Authority, ſo that to *cry up the Name of the People* is the ſame as to *cry out Liberty*, or an Abolition of all Tyranny, and an Eſtabliſhment of a popular Government, under which the People enjoy the greateſt Liberties.

was guarded by *Rafaello d'Pazzi*, one of the Eccleſiaſtic Officers, paſſed the River lower down, and preſenting themſelves before the Gate of *Lame* were immediately introduced into the City. *A. D.* 1511.

THE Rebellion of *Bologna* was followed by the Flight of the Army; for the Duke of *Urbino*, whoſe Troops extended themſelves from the Bridge of *Caſalecchio* to the Gate called *Siragoza*, having Notice, as it is ſuppoſed, of the Flight of the Legate, and of the Inſurrection of the People, decamped in all Haſte at the third Hour of the Night, with all his Army, except thoſe who were appointed to guard the Camp, and poſted on that Part of the River towards the *French*, to whom he gave no Notice of his Departure, leaving moſt Part of his Tents ſtanding. But his Motion being perceived, the *Bentivogli*, who were in the City, ſent immediate Advice of it to *Trivulzio*, and ordered out of the Town Part of the People to haraſs him in his March. The Townſmen in conjunction with the Peaſants, who deſcended from all

Flight of the Eccleſiaſtic and *Venetian* Armies.

A. D. 1511. all Parts, with horrible Cries and Shouts fell upon the Camp which extended itſelf along the Walls of the City, and ſeized upon the Artillery, Ammunition, and a great Quantity of Baggage; but the *French* coming up ſoon after wreſted the greateſt Part of the Plunder out of their Hands. *Teodora da Trivulzi* with the Vanguard was now advanced to the Bridge of *Reno*, where *Rafaello de' Pazzi* valiantly fighting ſtopped them for ſome time, but at laſt, being too weak to withſtand ſo great a Superiority of Number, was taken Priſoner, having, as every one acknowledged, by his ſtout Reſiſtance, given the Troops of the Church a fair Opportunity to ſave themſelves. But the Forces of the *Venetians*, and with them *Ramazotto*, who was poſted on the higheſt Eminence of *St. Luca*, not having timely Notice of the Flight of the Duke of *Urbino*, took the Way of the Mountains to make their Eſcape, by which, tho' with very conſiderable Loſs, they arrived at laſt in *Romagna*. In this Victory, which was obtained without Fighting, were taken fifteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, and many ſmaller ones,

ones, partly belonging to the Pope, partly to the *Venetians*; the Doge's own Standard was taken, with ſeveral other Colours, great Part of the Baggage of the Eccleſiaſtics, and almoſt all that of the *Venetians*; ſome Men at Arms of the Troops of the Church were ſtripped, but of the *Venetians* above One Hundred and Fifty; almoſt all the Infantry of both Armies were diſperſed, and *Orſino da Magnano*, *Giulio Manfrone*, and many other Officers of leſs Note were taken Priſoners. In *Bologna* no Perſon was killed, nor Violence offered to any one either of the Nobleſſe or Commonalty; and none were made Priſoners but the Biſhop of *Chiuſi*, with a conſiderable Number of Prelates, Secretaries and other Officers, Aſſiſtants to the Cardinal, who had remained in the Palace which was the Reſidence of the Legate, and had not the leaſt Notice of his Departure. The ſame Night and the next Day the Populace fell upon a Statue of the Pope in Braſs, and dragged it about the great Square with much Scorn and Deriſion; which they did either at the Inſtigation of ſome of the Partiſans of the *Bentivogli*;

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. *vogli*; or becauſe the People being weary of the Fatigues and Loſſes occaſioned by the Wars, as they are naturally ungrateful, and Lovers of Novelties, had in reality conceived a Hatred againſt the Name and Memory of the Perſon who had been the Author of the Freedom and Happineſs of their Country.

Motions of *Trivulzio.*

THE next Day, which was the 22d of *May*, *Trivulzio* continued in the ſame Quarters, and the Day following he decamped, and leaving *Bologna* behind him, marched to the River *Lidice*, and afterwards encamped at *Caſtel San Piero*, a Town ſituated on the Extremity of the *Bologneſe* Territory, where he intended to wait that he might know the Deſigns of the King of *France*; whether he was to march forwards and invade the Territories of the Pope, or whether the King, contenting himſelf with having ſecured *Ferrara*, and depriving the Church of *Bologna*, which it had acquired by his Means, would have him put a Stop to the Courſe of his Victory. Wherefore when *Giovanni da Saſſatello*, an Officer of the Pope, who expelled

expelled the *Ghibellins* from *Imola*, and as the Head of the *Guelfs* was in a manner abſolute in that City, offered to put that Place into his Hands, he would not accept of it before he had received the King's Anſwer. *A. D.* 1511

THE Cittadel of *Bologna*, in which was *Vitello* the Biſhop, was not yet reduced: It was large and ſtrong, but provided as the Fortreſſes of the Church uſually are, for the Garriſon conſiſted only of a few Foot, who were but ill ſtored with Victuals, and had ſcarce any Ammunition. During the Siege *Vitfruſt* came one Night from *Modena* into the Place, and ſollicited the Biſhop by large Promiſes to ſurrender it to *Cæſar*. But that Prelate, on the fifth Day of the Siege, capitulated, and ſurrendered the Cittadel to the *Bologneſe*, on Condition of Safety to the Lives and Effects of all that were in it, and of a Bond by which they were obliged to pay him Three Thouſand Ducats within a prefixed Time. As ſoon as that Fortreſs was evacuated, the People ran with one Conſent to demoliſh it; to which they were

Cittadel of *Bologna* ſurrendered and demoliſhed.

A. D. 1511. inſtigated by the *Benti-vogli*, not ſo much with a Deſign to conciliate the Affections of the Citizens, as out of a Jealouſy that the King of *France* deſigned to have it in his Poſſeſſion, ſince it had been the Opinion of ſome of his General Officers that it ought to be demanded; but *Trivulzio* judging it was not for the King's Intereſt to have it believed that he intended to make himſelf Maſter of *Bologna*, was of another Opinion. The Duke of *Ferrara* took Occaſion from this Victory to recover not only *Cento* and *Pieve*, but alſo *Cotignuola*, *Lugo*, and the other Towns of *Romagna*, and at the ſame time chaſed away from *Carpi*, *Alberto Pio*, who had before enjoyed that Place in common with the Duke.

The Pope perplexed

THE Pope was extremely mortified, and with very good Reaſon, at the Loſs of *Bologna*; and he tormented himſelf not only for the Revolt of the principal and moſt important City, except *Rome*, in the whole Eccleſiaſtic State, and that he ſeemed to be deprived of that Glory with which he

he was magnified by the Public, and much more in his own Conceit for the Acquiſition of it, but alſo with the dreadful Apprehenſions that the conquering Army would purſue its Victory. ſince he knew himſelf incapable of making Reſiſtance. That he might, however, remove all Occaſions that might invite the Enemy to advance any farther, he requeſted that the Remainders of the *Venetian* Army, which were already recalled by the Senate, might embark at the Port of *Ceſena*; and, for the ſame Reaſon, that Twenty Thouſand Ducats, which he had remitted to *Venice*, for putting the *Swiſs* in Motion, and were ſtill repoſited in that City, might be returned. He appointed alſo that the Cardinal of *Nantes*, a *Breton* by Nation, ſhould, as it were of his own Motion, invite *Trivulzio* to treat of a Peace, by ſhewing him that now he had a fair Opportunity. But that Commander anſwered that ſuch a general Demand was of no Signification, but that it was neceſſary to deſcend expreſly to Particulars: That the King when he deſired Peace had propoſed the Conditions; that now it was the Pope's Turn to

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511 do the ſame, ſince ſuch was the Situation of his Affairs that it belonged to him to deſire it. The Pope proceeded after this Manner more to avoid the preſent Danger, than out of a real and hearty Diſpoſition to Peace; Fear, Obſtinacy, Enmity and Indignation, all at once combating together in his Breaſt.

At the ſame time happened a moſt diſmal Accident, which redoubled the Pope's Grief. Many were the Accuſations brought againſt the Cardinal of *Pavia*, ſome charging him with Treachery, others with Cowardice, and others with Imprudence. The Cardinal was come to *Ravenna* of his own accord to juſtify his Conduct, and as ſoon as he arrived ſent Notice of his Coming to his Holineſs, requeſting he would appoint him a Time for an Audience. The Pope, who dearly loved him, was overjoyed, and gave him an Invitation to dine with him. As he was going to the Palace, attended by *Guido Vaina* and his Horſe Guards, the Duke of *Urbino*, prompted by his inveterate Hatred, and inflamed with Rage, becauſe it

it was the Cardinal's Fault, as he ſaid, that the Rebellion happened in *Bologna*, and the Flight of the Army in conſequence of it, ſet out to meet him with a few Attendants, and entering among his Guards, who gave him Way out of Reſpect, made up to him and killed him with his own Hands by ſtabbing him with a Dagger. His great Dignity as a Cardinal ought perhaps to have preſerved his Perſon inviolable, but, with Regard to his infinite and enormous Vices, he deſerved the worſt of Puniſhments. The News of his Death being immediately carried to the Pope, he burſt into Cries that reached the very Heavens, making moſt doleful Lamentations, and bewailing beyond Meaſure the Loſs of a Cardinal who was ſo dear to him, and much the more becauſe the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip was, in an unparallelled Manner, violated before his Eyes, and by his own Nephew; a Fact which gave him the more Concern, as he profeſſed himſelf to be more than commonly zealous for the Preſervation and Promotion of the Eccleſiaſtic Authority*.

A. D. 1511.

The Cardinal of *Pavia* killed by the Duke of *Urbino*.

* The Duke of *Urbino* was juſt come out of the Pope's Chamber, where he had been to clear himſelf from the Calumnies

A. D. 1511.

THE Pope, unable to bear his Grief or bridle his Fury, ſet out the ſame Day from *Ravenna* on his Return to *Rome*. And to crown thoſe infinite and intolerable Calamities, which at the ſame time ſurrounded him on all Sides, he was hardly arrived at *Rimini*, when he received Notice that Bills had been hung up in the public Places at *Modena*, *Bologna*, and many other Cities, advertiſing the Convocation of a General Council, with a Citation for himſelf to appear in Perſon at it. For the Biſhop of *Goritz*, though he had left *Modena*, travelled but ſlowly for ſome Days, in Expectation of the Arrival of the *Scotch* Ambaſſador, who was returned to *Bologna*, on the Propoſals which

Calumnies caſt upon him by the Cardinal, who had charged him with the Loſs of *Bologna* as owing to his Fault. The Pope would not hear him, but rudely thruſt him out of the Room. Hence the Duke, burning with Rage againſt the Cardinal, the Author of ſo great an Injury, and meeting him in the Street gave him ſeveral Thruſts (*Buonaccorſi* ſays five) with his Sword, and his Attendants taking him upon a Mule carried him to a Houſe, where he died ſoon after. *Bembo*. *Gradinigo* writes that the Duke waited for the Cardinal, and ſeeing him on Horſeback called him Traitor, Enemy to the *Italian* Blood, and ſtabbed him with a Dagger.

which the Pope himſelf had made. But the Ambaſſador returning at length with very uncertain Anſwers, the Biſhop immediately ordered three Proxies, in the Name of *Cæſar*, to repair to *Milan*. Theſe Proxies, in Conjunction with the Cardinals and the Proxies of the King of *France*, proclaimed the Council to be held on the firſt Day of *September* next, in the City of *Piſa*, as a Place convenient, by its Situation near the Sea, for the Accommodation of them who were to attend the Council, and on account of its Security, becauſe of the Confidence which the King of *France* repoſed in the *Florentines*. To this it might be added, that though many other Places were capable of entertaining the Council, they were either not ſo commodious, or ſuſpected, or might, with ſome Shew of Reaſon, be refuſed by the Pope. In *France* it could not with Decency be called, or in any Place that was under Subjection to the King. *Conſtance*, one of the Free Towns of *Germany*, which was propoſed by *Cæſar*, though illuſtrious for the Memory

A. D. 1511.

Piſa appointed for the Place of the Council.

* Theſe Cardinals were *San Severino*, *Santa Croce*, *Coſenza*, and *San Malo*. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1511. of that famous Council, which, by depoſing three Perſons, who acted as Pontiffs, extirpated the Schiſm under which the Church had ſuffered about forty Years, appeared very incommodious, and was ſuſpected by both Sides*. *Turin* was not a ſafe Place on account of the Neighbourhood of the *Swiſs* and of the States of the King of *France*. *Bologna* before it was alienated from the Church was unſafe for the Cardinals, and ſince for the Pope. In making Choice of *Piſa* Regard was alſo had in ſome meaſure to the Auſpiciouſneſs of the Place, in Memory of two Councils there held with proſperous Succeſs. In the firſt, when almoſt all the Cardinals had abandoned *Gregory* XII. and *Benedict* XIII. who contended for the Popedom, *Alexander* V. was elected Pope. In the other Council, which was more antient, being held at *Piſa* about the Year 1136, by *Innocent* II. when one *Pietro di Leone*, a *Roman*, and Anti-Pope by the Name of *Anacletus*

* The Council of *Conſtance* began in 1414, and laſted three Years. The three Popes depoſed were *John* XXI. before called *Balda'arre Coſcia*, *Gregory* XII and *Benedict* XIII. before called *Pietro Luna*, after which the Council created Pope *Martin* V.

Anacletus II. was condemned, after he had by a Schiſm given much Trouble, not only to *Innocent* but to all Chriſtendom. The *Florentines* had before conſented that the Council ſhould be held at *Piſa* at the Requeſt of the King of *France*, who aſſured them that *Cæſar* was as much concerned in the Convocation of a Council as himſelf, and that the King of *Aragon* alſo gave his Conſent to it. In this Step the *Florentines* deſerved perhaps more Praiſe for their Silence, than for their Prudence or Firmneſs of Mind. For though they had not Spirit enough to deny the King of *France* what they were very loth to grant, or had not the Prudence to conſider the Difficulties and Dangers that might ariſe from holding a Council contrary to the Will of the Pope, yet they concealed this Reſolution, though made in a Council of above an Hundred and Fifty Citizens, with ſuch Secreſy, that it was uncertain to the Cardinals, to whom the King had given Hopes but no Aſſurances that his Requeſt would be granted; and the Pope had not the leaſt Intimation of it. A. D. 1511.

THE

A. D. 1511.

THE Cardinals pretended that they could lawfully call a Council without the Authority of the Pope, on account of the moſt evident Neceſſity under which the Church ſtood of a Reformation, as they ſaid, not only in its Members, but in the Head itſelf, that is, in the Perſon of the Pope, whom they affirmed to be an inveterate Simoniac, of infamous and abandoned Manners, not fit to diſcharge the Office of a Pontiff, as being the Author of ſo many Wars, and notoriouſly incorrigible, to the univerſal Scandal of Chriſtianity, for whoſe Welfare no other Remedy could be provided but the Calling of a Council; and the Pope being negligent in procuring this Remedy, the Power of convoking a Council was lawfully devolved to them, eſpecially as it was enforced with the Authority of the Emperor elect, and the Conſent of the Moſt Chriſtian King, with the Concurrence of the *German* and *French* Clergy. They ſubjoined that it was not only beneficial but neceſſary for the ſickly and diſordered Body of the Church to make frequent

Charge againſt the Pope.

Uſe

Uſe of this Medicine for the Extirpation of inveterate Abuſes, and to provide againſt new Errors daily ſpringing up, to clear and interpret Doubts, which conſtantly aroſe, and to correct Things which at firſt were inſtituted with a good Intent, but were found at particular Times by Experience to be pernicious. For theſe Reaſons the reverend Fathers in the Council of *Conſtance*, for the general Benefit, appointed that perpetually for the future a Council ſhould be held every ten Years. And what other Bridle could be laid on the Popes, to keep them from going aſtray? And conſidering the great Frailty of human Nature, and the manifold Temptations to which our Life is ſubject, how could they otherwiſe ſtand ſecure, if a Perſon entruſted with ſo much Power knew that he ſhould never be called to an Account for his Actions? A. D. 1511. Reaſons for frequent Councils.

On the other Side many oppoſed theſe Reaſons, and, adhering more to the Doctrine of Divines than to that of the Canoniſts, aſſerted that the Power of calling Councils reſided wholly in the Perſon of Pope's Authority aſſerted.

the

A. D. 1511. the Pontiff, even though he were ſtained with all manner of Vices, provided he was not ſuſpected of Hereſy; and that to underſtand the Caſe otherwiſe would be to put it in the Power of a Few (which ought by no means to be admitted) either out of Ambition, or private Enmity, by diſguiſing their corrupt Intentions under falſe Colours, to diſturb on every Pretence the quiet State of the Church. All Medicines are in their own Nature wholeſome, but if not adminiſtered in due Proportions, or at ſeaſonable Times, become rather Poiſons than Medicines. They condemned therefore thoſe who were of different Sentiments, and called this Congregation not a Council, but a Cauſe of Diviſion from the Unity of the Apoſtolic See, the Foundation of a Schiſm in the Church of God, and a Diabolical Conventicle.

The End of the Ninth Book.

Franceſco

Franceſco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK X.

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Council of Piſa *tranſlated to* Milan. *Diſcourſe on the* Swiſs; *their fruitleſs Expedition into* Italy. *Enterpriſes of the Confederates againſt* Bologna *and* Ferrara. *Action at* Breſcia. *Battle of* Ravenna. *Decline of the* French *Affairs in* Italy.

A. D. 1511. ALL *Italy* and the greater Part of Chriſtendom were held in Suſpenſe and Expectation, and vaſtly attentive to the Reſolutions of the King of *France* in conſequence of his Victory. For it manifeſtly appeared to all that he had it in his Power to ſeize upon *Rome*, and the whole Eccleſiaſtic State, the Troops of the Pope being in a manner all diſſipated and diſperſed, and thoſe of the *Venetians* in a much worſe Condition. And as there were no other Forces in *Italy* that could withſtand the Attacks of the Conqueror, it appeared that the Pope, who had no other Defence than the Majeſty of the Pontificate, muſt in all other Reſpects lie at the Mercy of Fortune. The King however, being either reſtrained by the Reverence due to Religion, or afraid

afraid of drawing upon himſelf the Reſentments of all the Princes if he made any further Progreſs, reſolved not to improve the Opportunity afforded by his Victory, but taking his Meaſures with more Piety perhaps than Policy, ordered *Gianjacopo da Trivulzio* to leave *Bologna* in the Power of the *Bentivogli*, to reſtore whatever elſe he had taken belonging to the Church, and to return immediately with the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*. This Mildneſs and Forbearance which the King exerciſed in his Actions were accompanied with Marks of the greateſt Humanity and Condeſcenſion in Words. He prohibited all Demonſtrations of public Rejoicings throughout his Dominions, and oftentimes declared before Company, that tho' he had not tranſgreſſed either againſt the Apoſtolic See or againſt the Pontiff, nor done any thing without Provocation and Neceſſity, yet in Reverence to that See he was willing to humble himſelf, and aſk Pardon of his Holineſs. The King, it ſeems, perſuaded himſelf that the Pope, being convinced by Experience of the Difficulties that attended the Execution

A. D. 1511.

King of *France* ſeeks a Reconciliation with the Pope.

of

A. D. 1511. of his Projects, and freed from the vain Suſpicions and Prejudices he had entertained againſt him, would now think it his Duty to deſire Peace with all his Heart. And indeed the Negotiations for that Purpoſe had never been totally intermitted; for the Pontiff, even before his Departure from *Bologna*, had ſent to the King the Ambaſſador of *Scotland*, whoſe Buſineſs was to continue the Treaty which had been ſet on foot, by the Agency of the ſaid Ambaſſador, with the Biſhop of *Goritz*. The *Bentivogli*, in Submiſſion to the King's Authority, had ſignified to the Pontiff that they would by no means ſhew themſelves contumacious or Rebels to the Church, but perſevere in that Subjection in which their Father had continued ſo many Years; and, as a Token of their Obedience, they had ſet at liberty the Biſhop of *Chiuſi*, and inſtated him, according to antient Cuſtom, in the Palace as Apoſtolical Lieutenant.

TRIVULZIO then decamped, and came with his Army before *Mirandola*, with an Intent to recover that Town, tho' *Vitfruſt*, at

at the Intreaties of *Giovan Franceſco Pico*, had entered the Place under Colour of keeping poſſeſſion of it in the Name of *Cæſar*, and repreſenting to *Trivulzio* that *Mirandola* was within the Juriſdiction of the Empire, proteſted againſt all Attempts to moleſt it; yet finding at laſt that his bare Authority was of no Signification, he gave up the Place and departed, having firſt received of *Trivulzio* certain Promiſes which were thought requiſite for the Honour of *Cæſar*, but ſuch as had more of Formality than Subſtance. *Giovan Franceſco* alſo left the Town, after obtaining a Paſs for himſelf and all that belonged to him, with their Effects. *Trivulzio* now finding nothing elſe to undertake ſent Five Hundred Lances, and Thirteen Hundred *German* Foot under General *Jacob* to reinforce the Garriſon of *Verona*, and diſbanded the reſt of the Foot, except Two Thouſand Five Hundred *Gaſcons* commanded by *Molard* and *Mongiron*, which, with the Men at Arms, he diſtributed into Quarters in the Towns of the Dutchy of *Milan*. *A. D.* 1511.

A. D. 1511.

BUT the Diſpoſition of the Pontiff was no way conformable to the Deſires and Hopes of the King of *France*; for his Holineſs reſuming his Courage from the Recalling of the King's Army, which ſeemed the moſt likely Means to mollify him, was become the harder and more untractable. And therefore while he was yet at *Rimini*, afflicted with the Gout, and ſurrounded with ſo many Difficulties, he acted as if he was a Conqueror, not Conquered, propoſing, by means of the ſame *Scotch* Ambaſſador, that for the future the Dutchy of *Ferrara* ſhould be ſubject to the ſame Tribute which it had paid before its Diminution by Pope *Alexander*: That the Church ſhould keep a Viſdomino in *Ferrara*, as the *Venetians* had done before; and that *Lugo*, and the other Towns which *Alfonſo d' Eſte* poſſeſſed in *Romagna*, ſhould be yielded up to him. Tho' theſe Conditions appeared very hard to the King, yet ſo great was his Deſire of Peace with the Pontiff, that he anſwered he was content to agree to almoſt all theſe Demands,

Terms of Peace demanded by the Pope.

mands, provided the Affair might be transacted with the Consent and Concurrence of *Cæsar*. *A. D.* 1511.

But the Pope, who was now returned to *Rome*, had changed his Mind, his Boldness being augmented not only from his own native Stock of Resolution, but from the Encouragement of the King of *Aragon*. This Prince, being grown more jealous of the King of *France* since his Victory, had on a sudden put a Stop to all those mighty Preparations which he was making for passing in Person into *Africa*, where he was continually at War with the *Moors*, and had recalled *Pietro Navarra* with Three Thousand *Spanish* Foot, and ordered him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, at once providing for the Security of his own Dominions, and giving Encouragement to the Pope to be so much the more refractory and averse to a Peace. His Holiness therefore signified to the King of *France* that he did not chuse Peace, unless at the same time Matters were accommodated between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*; that *Alfonso d'* Pope rises in his Demands.

A. D. 1511. *Eſte*, beſides the firſt Demands, did alſo reimburſe him for his Charges in the War; and that the King did oblige himſelf not to obſtruct the Recovery of *Bologna*. This City, as in Rebellion againſt the Church, he had already ſubjected to the Eccleſiaſtic Interdict, and had ſent Orders to *Romagna* for *Marc' Antonio Colonna* and *Ramazotto* to deſtroy the ſtanding Corn in the *Bologneſe*; but they had hardly entered the Borders of that Territory when they were attacked by the People, and eaſily put to Flight.

Cardinal of *Achx* ſet at liberty.

THE Pope however, overcome by the earneſt Intreaties of the Cardinals, had, at his Return to *Rome*, conſented to ſet at liberty the Cardinal of *Achx*, who had till that Time been under Cuſtody in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, but on condition that he ſhould not ſtir out of the Palace of the Vatican till all the Prelates and Officers taken in *Bologna* had obtained their Liberty; and then not to depart out of *Rome* under the Penalty of Forty Thouſand Ducats, for which he was to find proper Security; but afterwards he conſented to that

that Cardinal's Return into *France*, under the Reſtriction of the ſame Penalty from being preſent at the Council. *A. D.* 1511.

THIS Anſwer of the Pope greatly ſhocked the King, and ſo much the more as he had perſuaded himſelf that his Holineſs could not but conſent to the Conditions which he himſelf had propoſed. Reſolving therefore to prevent him from recovering *Bologna*, he ſent thither Four Hundred Lances, and a few Days after he took that City and the *Bentivogli* under his Protection, without receiving from them any Obligation to aſſiſt him either with Troops or Money. And knowing that a ſtrict Union with *Cæſar* was more neceſſary for him than ever, tho' before he was inclined not to furniſh him with the Troops which he had promiſed by the Treaty made with *Goritz*, unleſs he paſſed in Perſon into *Italy*, becauſe it was under that Condition he had agreed to ſend them, he now ordered the Number of Troops which had been ſtipulated to march out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, for the Ends propoſed,

King of *France* takes *Bologna* under his Protection

A. D. 1511. under the Command of *Paliſſe*; for *Trivulzio*, whom *Cæſar* had demanded, refuſed the Commiſſion.

Vain Projects of *Maximilian.*

CÆSAR was by this time come to *Inſpruck*, ardently deſirous on one hand of proſecuting the War againſt the *Venetians*, and on the other diſtracted in his Mind with a confuſed Variety of Projects. For he conſidered that whatever Progreſs he could make would in the End appear to be of very little Benefit without the Conqueſt of *Padoua*, which required ſuch great Forces and Preparations that it was in a manner impoſſible for him to get them together. Sometimes he was inclined to come to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, to which the Catholic King earneſtly ſollicited him; now again he was hurried away by his own vain Projects, thinking to go in Perſon to *Rome* with an Army, and, indulging his antient Inclination, ſeize upon the whole State of the Church; promiſing himſelf, that, beſides the *French* Troops, he ſhould be able to lead a mighty Army out of *Germany*. But from his Diſabilities and Diſorders,

Diſorders, his Executions were no way anſwerable to his Imaginations; ſo that promiſing Day after Day ſometimes to come himſelf in Perſon, ſometimes to ſend his Troops, he waſted away the Time without entering on any Enterpriſe. The King of *France* therefore thought it very hard that he ſhould be forced to bear all the Burden alone. And, as a ſaving Scheme, was conformable to *Lewis*'s natural Tenacity, he was eaſily ſwayed in oppoſition to the ſound Advice of many of his Council, who repreſented to him that if *Cæſar* were not powerfully aſſiſted by him, he would in the End join with his Enemies, in which Caſe, beſides his being neceſſitated to undergo much greater Expences, his own Dominions would be expoſed to very great Dangers. *A. D.* 1511.

THESE Doubts and Difficulties cooled the Ardor of the Warriors, and repreſſed the Fury of the temporal Arms; but the ſpiritual Weapons were brandiſhed with the greater Heat and Animoſity, as well on the Side of the Cardinals who were the Authors of the Council, as on the Part of

A. D. 1511. the Pontiff, who was wholly intent on ſuppreſſing this Miſchief before it made any further Progreſs. A Council, as was ſaid before, had been notified and denounced by the Authority of the King of the *Romans*, and of the King of *France*, with the Aid and Approbation of the Cardinals of *Santa Croce*, *San Malo*, *Bayeux*, and *Coſenza*, and with the manifeſt Conſent alſo of the Cardinal of *San Severino*, the Agents of the two Kings ſucceſſively aſſiſting at their Debates and Reſolutions*. Theſe five Cardinals, the Authors of this pernicious Meaſure, to give the greater Authority to their Declaration, had added to it the Names of other Cardinals, of whom *Albret*, a *French* Cardinal, becauſe he would not diſobey the Commandment of his King, though unwillingly, gave his Conſent; but among others nominated by them, Cardinal *Adriano*, and the Cardinal of *Finale*, openly proteſted that it was not done by their Order, nor with their Approbation. Since then no more than ſix

* The Intimation of this Council was affixed at the Doors of the Churches of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and *Rimini*, none being found reſolute enough, for any Reward, to deliver it into the Pope's Hands. *Bembo*.

ſix Cardinals were concerned in the Affair, the Pontiff hoping that he could induce them voluntarily to deſiſt from ſo mad an Undertaking, was continually treating with them, offering them his Pardon for paſt Offences, and ſuch Security as ſhould not leave them the leaſt Reaſon for apprehending any Moleſtation; to which the Cardinals, out of Diſſimulation, pretended to hearken. This gentle Method, however, did not reſtrain his Holineſs from uſing more powerful Remedies; and therefore, by the Advice, as it was ſaid, of *Antonio del Monte a San Sovino*, one of the Cardinals of the laſt Creation at *Ravenna*, being wiling to clear himſelf from the Charge of Negligence, he proclaimed a general Council to be held in the Church of *San Giovanni Laterano* at the City of *Rome*, on the firſt Day of *May* next enſuing*. By this Proclamation he pretended that he had diſſolved the Council convoked by the Cardinals, and that the Power and Authority of the whole College was juridically transferred

A. D. 1511.

Pope ſummons a general Council.

* The Bull for notifying a general Council was expedited about the End of *July*, 1511, and ſoon after publiſhed and notified to the Chriſtian Princes. *Buonac.*

A. D. 1511. transferred to the Council ſummoned by himſelf. The Cardinals, however, allowing that this Pretence would have held good in the Beginning, aſſerted that, ſince they had prevented him, the Council called and notified by themſelves ought to take Place.

THE Pontiff putting great Truſt in the Merits of his Cauſe, and deſpairing of being able to reconcile the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who, out of an ambitious Deſire to be Pontiff, had been in a great meaſure the Author of this Diſturbance, or the Cardinals of *San Malo* and *Coſenza*, for of the reſt he had not yet loſt all Hopes of reducing them under his Obedience, publiſhed againſt theſe three Cardinals a Monitory, in which he enjoined them, under the Penalty of being deprived of the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, and of all their Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, to appear before him within ſixty-five Days. And the more eaſily to diſpoſe them to obey the Monitory, the College of Cardinals ſent to them an Auditor of the Rota, to invite them, and intreat them to lay aſide

Pope publiſhes a Monitory againſt Schiſmatic Cardinals.

aſide all private Contentions, and return to a Union with the Church, offering to grant them whatever Security they could deſire. *A. D.* 1511.

THE Pope at the ſame time, either from a Diſtruſt and Irreſolution of Mind, or ſome other Motive, was conſtantly attentive to a Negotiation of Peace with the King of *France*, which was managed by the Ambaſſadors of the King at the Court of *Rome*, and by the *Scotch* Ambaſſador and the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, the Apoſtolic Nuncio, at the King's Court. On the other Side he treated with the King of *Aragon* and the *Venetians*, of entering into a new Confederacy againſt the the *French*. Pope's double dealing.

AT the ſame time he procured the Reſtitution of *Monte Pulciano* to the *Florentines*, not out of Benevolence to that Republic, but becauſe he was apprehenſive that the Truce which the *Florentines* had made with the *Seneſe* being expired, they would call the *French* Troops into *Tuſcany* to help them in recovering that Town.

For

A. D. 1511. For though the Pope had oppoſed the Recovery of *Monte Pulciano* by the Republic of *Florence*, and to prevent it had ſent to *Siena*, *Giovanni Vitelli* with an Hundred Men at Arms hired by himſelf and the *Seneſe*, and *Guido Vaina* with an Hundred light Horſe, yet being afterwards better adviſed, and conſidering that the more he augmented the Difficulties that obſtructed the Recovery of that Place, the more he ſhould incite the *Florentines* to call in foreign Aſſiſtance, he reſolved, in order to prevent the King of *France* from taking Occaſion to ſend a Body of Troops into a Place ſo near to *Rome*, to obviate the Danger by a contrary Proceeding, with the Conſent alſo of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who was under the ſame Apprehenſions, which were artfully promoted by the *Florentines*. Much Time was ſpent in this Negotiation, for it often happens that Affairs of leſſer Moment are involved in as great Difficulties and Intricacies as thoſe of the greateſt Importance. *Pandolfo*, in order to avoid the Hatred of the *Seneſe*, choſe to proceed in ſuch a Manner as to make it appear that there was no other Remedy to ſecure his Country

Country againſt a War, and that this was the only Way to preſerve the Friendſhip of the Pontiff. It was the Deſire of his Holineſs and *Pandolfo* that the *Florentines* and *Seneſe* ſhould at the ſame time enter into a Confederacy for the Defence of their States; and on the other Hand they were apprehenſive that the People of *Monte Pulciano* getting Notice of this Treaty would prevent them, by ſurrendering themſelves voluntarily to the *Florentines* in order to obtain their Favour; and that the Republic of *Florence*, on Diſcovery of their Intentions, would ſhew a Reluctancy to ſuch an Alliance. *Giovanni Vitello* was ordered to take up his Quarters in *Monte Pulciano*, and the Pope ſent thither *Jacopo Simonetta*, Auditor of the Rota, who a few Years after was made a Cardinal, in order to accommodate the Affair. Thus it happened at laſt that a League was made between the *Florentines* and *Seneſe* for Twenty-five Years, and at the ſame time *Monte Pulciano*, by the Mediation of *Simonetta*, being confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of its antient Privileges and Exemptions, returned

A. D. 1511.

Monte Pulciano reſtored to the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1511. returned under the Dominion of the *Florentines*.

Progreſs of the War in *Lombardy*.

THE military Operations between *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* had, for ſome Months, been managed with leſs Vigour than uſual; for the *Germans* not abounding in Men, and deficient in Money, thought they did mighty Service in preſerving *Verona*; and the *Venetian* Army, not being ſtrong enough to undertake the Siege of that City, lay encamped between *Soave* and *Lunigo*, whence a Party of them one Night made an Excurſion, and burnt up a great Part of the ſtanding Harveſt of the *Veroneſe* on both Sides of the *Adice*; but they were attacked in their Retreat, and loſt Three Hundred Foot; yet on Advice of the Approach of *la Paliſſe* to *Verona* with Twelve Hundred Lances and Eight Thouſand Foot, the *Venetians* retired towards *Vicenza* and *Lignago*, and poſted themſelves very advantageouſly, and as it were in an Iſland by Means of certain Waters, and ſome Cuts which they had made in the Banks. In this Encampment they did not continue many Days; for *la Paliſſe* being

being arrived with Part of his Forces at *Verona* would not wait for the reſt, but marched out, accompanied by the *Germans* towards the Enemy, who haſtily quitting their ſtrong Camp retired in manner of a Flight to *Lunigo*, and afterwards, under the ſame Terror, abandoning *Vicenza* and all the other Towns, with the Poleſine of *Rovigo*, a Prey ſometimes to the *Venetians*, ſometimes to the Duke of *Ferrara*, diſtributed themſelves into *Padoua* and *Trevigi*. For the Defence of theſe Cities many young Noblemen were arrived there from *Venice*, in the ſame manner as they had before done at *Padoua**. The *French* and *German* Army ſacked *Lunigo*, and *Vicenza* ſurrendering to them became as uſual the miſerable Prey of the ſtrongeſt in the Field. A. D. 1511.

BUT all Efforts, and Acquiſitions were of little Importance, with regard to a Deciſion of the War, as long as the *Venetians* preſerved *Padoua* and *Trevigi*; for by the Conveniency

* To *Padoua* were ſent twenty Noblemen, and ten to *Trevigi*, each attended by ten Perſons on Foot; and the Commons ſent the like Number to each Town, every one attended by three Foot for the Guard of the Gates. *Bembo.*

A. D. 1511. Conveniency of theſe Cities, as ſoon as the *French* Auxiliaries left the *Germans*, they eaſily recovered the Places they had loſt. The Army therefore, after this Progreſs, halted ſeveral Days at *Ponte a Barberano*, waiting for the Coming or Determination of *Cæſar*. That Prince was arrived between *Trent* and *Rovere*, and being at once buſily employedo according to his Cuſtom, in the Chace of wild Beaſts, and in ſending Recruits to his Army, promiſed to be at *Montagnana*, purpoſing ſometimes to undertake the Siege of *Padoua*, ſometimes that of *Trevigi*, and then again to go and ſeize upon *Rome*. But as his fickle and inconſtant Temper, in Conjunction with his extreme Poverty, were the Occaſion of many Difficulties in all his Enterpriſes, he would have found himſelf no leſs embarraſſed in his *Roman* Expedition than in the Execution of his other Projects. For to go to *Rome* with ſo great a Body of *French* appeared incompatible with his Security as well as his Dignity; and the Danger of *Verona*, which might be attacked by the *Venetians* during his Abſence, would oblige him to leave a ſtrong Garriſon in that City. Beſides, the King of

Vain Projects of *Maximilian.*

of *France* made a Difficulty of ſending his Troops at ſo remote a Diſtance from the Dutchy of *Milan*, becauſe his Hopes of coming to an Agreement with the *Swiſs* were almoſt vaniſhed. For, beſides the Inclination of that People to comply with the Deſires of the Pontiff, the *French* Ambaſſador to the Cantons was acquainted in plain Terms that the Nation of the *Swiſs* could not, without the deepeſt Concern, bear to ſee the Ruin of the *Venetians*, on account of the Conveniencies and Advantages reſulting from the Harmony between the two Republics. A. D. 1511.

BUT all theſe grand Projects, and lofty Diſcourſes of *Cæſar* produced at laſt, according to his old Cuſtom, Effects unworthy of his Name. For after he had recruited his Army with Three Hundred *German* Men at Arms, given Audience on the other Part to the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, with whom he was continually treating, and cauſed *la Paliſſe* to come firſt to *Lungara* near *Vicenza*, and afterwards to *Santa Croce*, he ordered him to go and take *Caſtel Nuovo*, a Paſs beneath *Scala* towards

A. D. 1511. *Friuli*, and twenty Miles from *Feltro*, in order to facilitate his Deſcent on that Side. *La Paliſſe* therefore marched to *Monte Bellona*, ten Miles from *Trevigi*, where he detached five Hundred Horſe and two Thouſand Foot to open the Paſs of *Caſtel Nuovo*; in which they ſucceeded, and advanced to *Scala*. At this Time the *Venetian* light Horſe, which ſcoured all the Country without Oppoſition, routed near *Maroſtica* about Seven Hundred Foot with a good Number of *French* and *Italian* Horſe. Theſe Troops, in order to ſecure their Paſſage to the Army, were marching from *Verona* to *Soave* to join Three Hundred *French* Lances that were come back from *La Paliſſe*, and had halted at that Place waiting for his Orders. Though the *French* and *Germans* had the better in the Beginning of the Conflict, and *Guido Rangone*, who commanded the *Venetians*, was taken Priſoner, yet a Multitude of Peaſants pouring in to the Aſſiſtance of the Troops of the Republic rendered them at laſt victorious; about Four Hundred of the *French* Foot being killed, and their Commanders *Mongiron* and *Rochemare* taken Priſoners.

French routed by the *Venetians*.

BUT

A. D. 1511.

BUT now the Meaſures that had been concerted were proſecuted with more and more Coldneſs and Remiſſneſs; wherefore the King of *France* perceiving that the Preparations of *Cæſar* were no way correſpondent to his Offers and Promiſes withdrew himſelf farther from the Confines of *Italy*, and returned from *Dauphine*, where he had reſided many Days, to *Blois*. And *Cæſar* who was retired to *Trent*, with a Reſolution never to go any more in Perſon into the Army, inſtead of ſeizing upon all that the *Venetians* poſſeſſed on the *Terra Firma*, or at leaſt upon *Rome* and the whole State of the Church, now deſigned that the *Germans* ſhould make an Invaſion into *Friuli* and the *Trevigiano*, not ſo much with an Intent to diſtreſs the *Venetians*, as to exact Contributions of Money from the Inhabitants of the Towns to ſave themſelves from being plundered. And that his own Forces might meet with no Hindrance, he propoſed that the *French* ſhould advance forwards, and put Two Hundred Lances into *Verona*, where a Peſtilence raged; and as he had formed a Deſign to

A. D. 1511. invade *Friuli*, he was obliged to draw all his Forces out of that City, except thoſe which were appointed to guard the Caſtles. *La Paliſſe* agreed to all theſe Meaſures, and being joined by General *Aubigni* with the Three Hundred Lances that were at *Soave*, he encamped by the River *Piave*. The *Germans*, for the greater Security of *Verona*, left alſo Two Hundred Horſe at *Soave*, who being extremely negligent, and without Scouts or Guard, were one Night almoſt all killed or taken by Four Hundred light Horſe and as many Foot of the *Venetians*.

ALL this Year the War had been proſecuted in *Friuli*, *Iſtria*, and the Parts about *Trieſti* and *Fiume*, with various Succeſs, as uſual, by Land, and alſo by Sea with ſmall Veſſels; theſe unhappy Countries being ravaged by both Parties in their Turns. After this the *German* Army entered *Friuli*, and preſented itſelf before *Udine*, the Capital of the Province, and the Reſidence of the *Venetian* Lieutenancy, who cowardly betaking themſelves to Flight the Town immediately ſurrendered

Friuli ſubdued by the *Germans*.

to

to the *Germans*, as did afterwards, in the same Career of Success, the whole Country of *Friuli*, each Town being taxed at a Sum of Money in proportion to its Ability. There remained *Gradisca*, seated on the River *Lisontio*, in which was *Luigi Mocenigo*, Proveditor of *Friuli*, with Three Hundred Horse, and a good Number of Foot. But a Battery being raised against the Place, and an Assault given, tho' the Besiegers were repulsed, the Town was surrendered at the Importunity of the Soldiers, and the Proveditor remained a Prisoner. A. D. 1511.

From *Friuli* the *Germans* returned to join *Palisse*, who was encamped about five Miles from *Trevigi*, and after this Conjunction approached that City, which *Cæsar* was very importunate with him to besiege. But the General finding the Town well fortified on all Sides, and being in want of Pioneers, Ammunition, and other necessary Provisions, he laid aside all Hopes of Success in such an Undertaking. A few Days after *Palisse* put himself on his March to return into the Dutchy of *Milan*, French Forces recalled.

A. D. 1511. *Milan* by Orders of the King his Maſter who was more and more apprehenſive of the new Confederacies and Movements of the *Swiſs*. The *Venetian* Stradiotti were continually preſſing upon the Rear of the Enemy in their Retreat, and were in Hopes of doing them conſiderable Damage, eſpecially in their Paſſage of the Rivers *Brenta* and *Adice*. But they marched through all the Country in Safety, having, before they paſſed the *Brenta*, ſurpriſed Two Hundred *Venetian* Horſe quartered without *Padoua*, and taken *Pietro da Lunghera* their Commander. The Departure of the *French* General left the *Germans* in great Perplexity; for as they could not prevail with him to leave Three Hundred more *French* Lances for the Security of *Verona*, they were obliged to retire and abandon to the Enemy all the Conqueſts of their Summer's Campaign. The *Venetian* Forces therefore, which, ſince the Death of *Lucio Malvezzo*, were commanded by *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, immediately recovered *Vicenza*, and afterwards entering *Friuli*, demoliſhed *Gremonſa*, and recovered the whole Country except *Gradiſca*, which

Venetians recover Friuli.

which they attacked in vain. But a few Days after ſome Companies of Foot from the County of *Tirol* made themſelves Maſters of *Cadoro*, and plundered *Bellona*. A. D. 1511.

THUS ended the Campaign for the preſent Summer, which produced none but ſlight and tranſitory Effects, without Advantage, tho' not without Diſgrace to the Name of *Cæſar*, and raiſing the Reputation of the *Venetians*, who being attacked for theſe two ſucceſſive Years by the Armies of *Cæſar* and of the King of *France*, remained Maſters at laſt of the ſame Forces, and of the ſame Dominions. But tho' theſe Events tended directly againſt *Cæſar*, they were in effect much more prejudicial to the King of *France*, becauſe, while he ſtood perhaps too much in fear of the Proſperity of *Cæſar*, and of the Increaſe of his Power, or built his Meaſures upon falſe Foundations, not knowing the Dangers that were now near at Hand, or elſe his Prudence being blinded by his Avarice, he declined to furniſh *Cæſar* with ſuch Aſſiſtance as might give

Ill Conduct of the King of *France*.

A. D. 1511. him Hopes of obtaining the desired Success; and by this cautious and niggardly Management he gave Occasion to that Prince, and in a manner necessitated him, to listen to those Counsellors who were always persuading him to break off his Alliance with *France*, and at the same time preserve the *Venetians* in such a State, as to enable them to join with greater Forces in confederacy with those Potentates who desired to humble the Power of the King.

THESE Counsels had such an Effect that it began already to appear, by some Signs, that *Cæsar* was altering his Sentiments, and particularly as to the Affair of the Council, in which he was perceived to be grown cool, especially since the Publication of the *Lateran* Council; for he never sent to the Council of *Pisa*, according to his often repeated Promises, any *German* Prelates as Representatives of *Germany*, nor Deputies to represent his own Person, and assist in his Stead; nor was he in the least incited by the Example of the King of *France*, who had appointed four

Council of *Pisa* neglected by *Cæsar*.

four and twenty Biſhops to go to *Piſa* in the common Name, or as Repreſentatives of the *Gallican* Church, and had ordered all the Prelates of his Kingdom either to go thither in Perſon, or to ſend their Proxies. But either becauſe he wanted ſome Excuſe for his Neglect, or becauſe it was his real Deſire, he began to make Inſtances that, for the greater Conveniency of the *German* Prelates, and becauſe he intended, as he gave Aſſurances, to aſſiſt in Perſon, the Council ſummoned to meet at *Piſa* ſhould be transferred to *Mantoua*, *Verona*, or *Trent*. This Demand was, for various Reaſons, diſliked by all the Cardinals except the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was pleaſed with it, becauſe he was ardently deſirous of aſcending to the Pontificate, for which End he had ſowed this Diſcord, and was in hopes that, by the Favour of *Cæſar*, in whoſe Benevolence he repoſed great Confidence, he ſhould eaſily ſatisfy his Ambition *. A. D. 1511.

As

* This Cardinal of *Santa Croce* was called *Bernardine Carvajale*. He was by Nature ambitious beyond Meaſure, and greatly indulged his aſpiring Hopes from the Craft and Flatteries of Cardinal *Sanſeverine*, who had pro-

A. D. 1511.

As the Cauſe of the Council was but weak and lame, and unable to ſupport itſelf without the Authority of *Cæſar*, the Cardinal of *Sanſeverino* was, by common Conſent, deputed to wait upon his Majeſty, and humbly to intreat him to give Orders for putting the Prelates and Proxies in Motion, as had been ſo often promiſed, and to engage their Faith that when the Council was once opened at *Piſa* they would transfer it to what Place ſoever he himſelf ſhould chuſe, demonſtrating that to remove it ſooner would be highly prejudicial to the common Cauſe, and eſpecially becauſe it was of the laſt Importance to prevent the Council which had been proclaimed by the Pope. The Cardinal was attended by his Brother *Galeazzo*, who was to make the ſame Inſtances in the Name of the King of *France*. The good Fortune of *Galeazzo* was the Reverſe of the ill Fortune of his firſt Maſter *Lodovico Sforza*; for he had been honoured by

Cæſar addreſſed by the diſcontented Cardinals.

promiſed him the Popedom, and ſoothed his Imagination with the pleaſing Proſpect of arriving at the Height of Glory with the ſupreme Dignity. *Giovio* in his Life of Pope *Leo* X.

by the King with the Office of Grand Shield-bearer. But the principal Buſineſs on which he was ſent was to endeavour to fix the Reſolutions of *Cæſar*, by making him ſeveral Offers, and propoſing new Schemes; for the Inconſtancy and Irreſolution of that Prince kept the King in perpetual Suſpenſe and Jealouſy, tho' he was at the ſame time not without Hopes of concluding a Peace with the Pope. A Negotiation for this Purpoſe was carried on at *Rome* under the Management of the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*; and in *France* by the *Scotch* Biſhop, and by the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, and was in ſuch Forwardneſs that almoſt all the Conditions were ſettled, the Biſhop of *Tivoli* having received full Powers from the Pontiff to bring it to Perfection. But then in the Biſhop's Commiſſion were inſerted certain Limitations, which gave no ſmall Umbrage that the Pope's Intentions did not correſpond with his Words, eſpecially as it was known that he was at the ſame time carrying on a Negotiation with ſeveral Potentates entirely contrary to this Treaty. A. D. 1511.

IN

A. D. 1511.

In this dubious Juncture a ſudden Accident that happened to the Pope had like to have put an End to all Negotiations, and extirpated at once all the impending Evils. His Holineſs was taken ill on the 17th Day of *Auguſt*, and on the fourth Day of his Illneſs fell into a very ſtrong Fainting-Fit, ſo that for ſome Hours he was thought by the Attendants to be dead. Hence it being every where reported that the Pope had departed this Life, many of the abſent Cardinals prepared to return to *Rome*, and among the reſt thoſe who had called the Council. Nor were the Commotions in *Rome* leſs fervid than they uſually are on the Death of the Pontiffs, but rather there was Reaſon to apprehend that Fewel was preparing for greater Combuſtions. For *Pompeo Colonna*, Biſhop of *Rieti*, and *Antimo Savello*, two factious young Men of the *Roman* Nobility, aſſembled the People in the Capitol, and with moſt ſeditious Speeches endeavoured to enflame them with an eager Deſire to ſet themſelves at Liberty. But while they were thus labouring with the moſt immoderate

Pope dangerouſly ill and recovers.

derate Ambition to excite the *Romans* to an open Rebellion, the Pope recovered out of his dangerous Fit, and finding himſelf ſomewhat relieved, though there were yet but very ſmall Hopes of his Life, on the next Day, in the Preſence of the Cardinals aſſembled in the Form of a Conſiſtory, he abſolved his Nephew from the Murder committed on the Perſon of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, not in the ordinary Way of Juſtice, as it had before been intended, the Shortneſs of the Time not admitting of it, but as a Penitent by virtue of the Apoſtolic Grace and Indulgence*. In the ſame Conſiſtory he took Care that the Election of his Succeſſor ſhould proceed according to the Canons, and willing to prevent others from A. D. 1511

* He appointed alſo that, in Caſe of his Death, the Cities of *Bologna* and *Ferrara* ſhould be freed from their Interdicts, Excommunications and Curſes. He alſo bequeathed to his Daughter *Felice*, Wife to *Gio. Giordano Orſino* Twelve Thouſand Ducats ready Money, and the like Sum to his Nephew the Duke of *Urbino*. *Bembo* ſays an Hundred and Twenty Pound of Gold to each, and the ſame to *Nicolo della Rovere* his Siſter's Son; and that he gave *Peſaro* in Fee to the Duke of *Urbino*, and to his Heirs from Generation to Generation, only paying a ſmall yearly Tribute to the *Roman* Pontiffs.

A. D. 1511. from aſcending to ſo great a Dignity by the ſame Steps on which he climbed to it himſelf, he ordered a Bull to be publiſhed full of horrible Pains and Penalties againſt thoſe who by Money or any other Reward procured themſelves to be elected Popes, diſannulling an Election made by Simony, and opening a very eaſy Way for any Cardinal to oppoſe it. This Conſtitution had been pronounced by the Pope when he was in *Bologna*, being provoked againſt ſome Cardinals, who were openly ſolliciting others of their Brethren for their Promiſes to aſſiſt them for obtaining the Popedom after his Death. From that Day he grew very viſibly better, which proceeded either from the great Robuſtneſs of his Conſtitution, or becauſe he was reſerved by the Fates to be the Author and principal Cauſe of longer and greater Calamities to *Italy*. For his Recovery could not be aſcribed to the Art or Remedies of the Phyſicians, ſince he would never be ruled by them in any Reſpect, but in the greateſt Height of his Diſorder would eat

raw

raw Apples, and other Things contrary to their Precepts*. *A. D.* 1511.

THE Pope was no ſooner out of Danger of Death than he returned to his wonted Labours and Schemes, continuing to treat of Peace with the King of *France*, and at the ſame time negotiating with the King of *Aragon* and the *Venetian* Senate an offenſive League againſt the *French*; and tho' his Inclinations were bent more upon War than Peace, he ſeemed on certain Occaſions to be in Suſpenſe by the Multiplicity of Reaſons which offered themſelves on both Sides of the Queſtion. What inclined him to War, beſides his inveterate Hatred of the King of *France*, and his not being able to obtain a Peace on all the Conditions he deſired, was the Perſuaſions of the King of *Aragon*, who apprehended more than ever that the King of *France*, as ſoon as he had accommodated Matters with the Pope, would upon the firſt Opportunity attack the Kingdom of *Naples*. And to give the greater Weight to his Counſels

King of *Aragon* diſſuades the Pope from a Peace with *France*.

* *Gradinico*, who wrote the Diary, ſays more particularly that Pope *Julius* in the Height of his Fever would eat a Fiſh, and drink ſtrong *Greek* Wines.

A. D. 1511. Counſels he had ordered that, beſides the firſt Armada which he had paſſed over from *Africa* to *Italy* under the Command of *Pietro Navarra*, another ſhould be got ready in *Spain*, on board of which were, as it was ſaid, embarked Five Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred Jenneteers, and Three Thouſand Foot; a Force which added to the others, both for Number and Goodneſs of Troops, was by no means contemptible. That King however, with his uſual Artifices, pretended that he was more deſirous of a War againſt the *Moors*, and that he was not diverted from that pious and uſeful Work, either by Self-Intereſt or by any other Conſideration, than the Devotion which he had always borne to the Apoſtolic See; but not being in a Condition to maintain ſuch a Number of Soldiers of himſelf, he required the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and the *Venetian* Senate: And that he might the more eaſily induce them to condeſcend to his Requeſt, his Forces that were all gone aſhore in the Iſland of *Capri* near the City of *Naples*, made a Show of preparing themſelves for paſſing over to *Africa*.

THE

A. D. 1511.

THE immoderate Demands of the King of *Aragon* aſtoniſhed the Pope, who abominated his Artifices, and was not without Suſpicions of him, becauſe he knew that he was continually putting the King of *France* in hopes of his coming into contrary Meaſures. The Pontiff was ſatisfied that the *Venetians* would conform themſelves to his Will, but he was no leſs ſenſible that their Treaſury was greatly exhauſted by a very burdenſome War, and that the Senate would chuſe rather to attend at preſent to the Defence of their own Territory, than to engage anew in a War, which could not be ſupported without a vaſt and almoſt intolerable Expence. He was in Hopes that the *Swiſs*, on account of the general Inclination of the Populace, would declare againſt the King of *France*; but as he could not aſſure himſelf of it, it did not appear adviſeable to expoſe himſelf to open and manifeſt Dangers in Reliance on uncertain Hopes, ſince he was not ignorant that they had never broken off their Negotiations with the King of *France*, and that many of their

Pope debates with himſelf in the preſent Juncture.

A. D. 1511. leading Men, who reaped vaſt Profit from their Friendſhip with the *French*, uſed all their Endeavours that in the next Diet of the Cantons, which was at hand, their Confederacy with that King ſhould be renewed. Of the Inclinations of *Cæſar*, tho' that Prince was earneſtly ſollicited by the Catholic King, and had a natural Antipathy to the *French*, he ſtood more in Fear than Hope, knowing the great Offers newly made him to encourage him to proſecute the War againſt the *Venetians* and himſelf, and that the King of *France* was more capable of enlarging and performing them than any other Prince. He knew if *Cæſar* ſhould join with the King he would render the Council very formidable by his Authority, and by a real and hearty Conjunction of his Arms with the Forces and Money of *France*, conſidering alſo the Conveniencies and Advantages of both the Princes from the Situation of their Dominions, would not leave his Holineſs the leaſt Hopes of Victory, which it was very difficult to obtain againſt the King of *France* alone. He ſupported his Spirits with Hopes that the King of *England* would

would engage in a War with the Kingdom of *France*, induced by the Counſels and Perſuaſions of the Catholic King his Father-in-law, and by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, which at that Time was highly reſpected in that Kingdom, and in the Name of which his Holineſs had with the moſt fervent Prayers ſupplicated that King's Aſſiſtance againſt the King of *France*, as an Uſurper and Oppreſſor of the Church. But there were much ſtronger Inducements from the natural Hatred of the King and People of *England* to the Name of the *French**, from the Youth of that Prince, and the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father, which was reported, by Authors of no mean Credit, to be ineſtimable. Theſe Incentives kindled in the Heart of the young King, who was but newly come to the Crown, and had never ſeen any thing but Proſperity in his Family, an eager Deſire of reviving the Glory of his

A. D. 1541.

* It is eaſier, ſays *Polydore Virgil* in his Hiſtory of *England*, for a black Man to become white, than for the *French* heartily to love the *Engliſh*; or, on the other Side, for one born in *England* to love one born in *France*; and this Enmity ariſing from their Conteſts for Power and Dominion, is nouriſhed and increaſed by the Bloodſhed and Slaughters on each Side.

A. D. 1511. Anceſtors, who intitled themſelves Kings of *France*, and for ſeveral Ages victoriouſly carried on terrible Wars againſt that Kingdom, having not only for a long Time been in Poſſeſſion of *Guyenne* and *Normandy*, rich and powerful Provinces, and, in a Battle fought near *Poictiers*, taken *John* King of *France*, with his two Sons, and many of the principal Lords, Priſoners, but alſo, with the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Paris*, the Metropolis of *France*; and ſuch was the Rapidity and Terror of their Succeſs, that it was firmly believed that if their King *Henry* V. had not been cut off by a natural Death in the Flower of his Age, and in the Courſe of his Victories, he would have conquered the whole Kingdom of *France*. The new King revolving in his Mind the Memory of theſe Victories, was tranſported beyond Meaſure with a Deſire of entering upon Action, though his Father had upon his Death-bed expreſly recommended to him above all things to live in Peace with the King of *France*, which was the only Way for a King of *England* to reign in Happineſs

neſs and Security. Now if the *Engliſh* ſhould make War upon the King of *France* at the ſame time when he was vigorouſly attacked on another Quarter, it muſt be acknowledged that ſuch a Diverſion would have been of vaſt Moment, ſince it would be wounding that Prince in the very Bowels of his Kingdom, and the Memory of paſt Tranſactions had made the Name of the *Engliſh* extremely dreaded by the *French*. The Pontiff, however, could not aſſure himſelf of the Faith of a Barbarian, and beſides his Country lay ſo remote, that he could not ſecurely reſt his Meaſures on this Aſſiſtance. Such were the Hopes of the Pope, and theſe the Limits within which they were bounded, A. D. 1511.

Deliberations of the King of *France* on the Situation of Affair.

ON the other Side the King of *France*, abhorring a War with the Church, was deſirous of Peace, by which he would not only remove the Enmity of the Pope, but alſo free himſelf from the importunate Demands of *Caſar*, and the Neceſſity of being ſubſervient to his Will. He made no Difficulty of diſannulling the Council of *Piſa*, which he had ſet on foot purely with a

A. D. 1511. Deſign to ſtimulate the Pope, out of Fear, to condeſcend to a Peace, provided that he pardoned the Cardinals and all the reſt who had either conſented or adhered to that Project. But on the other hand he was held in Suſpenſe and Perplexity by the Demand of the Reſtitution of *Bologna*, that City by its Situation lying very convenient for moleſting his Dominions; for he doubted whether the Pope would embrace a Peace with Sincerity, and with a Mind diſpoſed to obſerve it, if Opportunities returned for breaking it, or rather deſigned only to free himſelf from the imminent Danger of a Council and an Invaſion. As to *Cæſar*, he was in Hopes that there wanted nothing more to confirm him in his good Diſpoſition, than to make good his Offers by the Greatneſs of his Efforts, ſince that Prince had hitherto treated with him, not as one from whom he was fallen off, but as a Confederate, about their common Concerns, and had adviſed him, among other Things, not to conſent that *Bologna*, a City of ſo great Importance, ſhould return under the Power of the Pontiff. He was not wholly diſtruſtful of the Kings

Kings of *Aragon* and *England*, whatever Umbrage might be taken at the Proceedings, which now almoſt manifeſted themſelves, of the former of theſe Princes, and at the Reports which were ſpread abroad of the Inclinations of the other; tho' their Ambaſſadors had joined together in intreating his Majeſty, at firſt with modeſt Speeches, and under Colour of friendly Offices, and afterwards in more earneſt Inſtances, that he would be pleaſed to direct the Cardinals and Prelates of his Kingdom to afford their Preſence at the *Lateran* Council, and to grant his Permiſſion that the Church ſhould be re-inſtated in Poſſeſſion of her City of *Bologna*. For on one hand the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador pretended that his Maſter had no other Deſign than to perſevere in the Confederacy which he had made with him, and many of his own Council aſſured him of the ſame; and therefore he believed that he had nothing to fear from that Prince. And on the other hand ſuch were the Arts and Diſſimulation of the *Aragonian*, that the King repoſing leſs Faith in Facts than in Words, by which that King aſſured him that he A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. would never take up Arms againſt him, ſuffered himſelf to be deluded into a Perſuaſion that he would never join with his Enemies in open War againſt him, as he was already joined with them in ſecret Counſels and Reſolutions. *Lewis* was infatuated with theſe vain Opinions to ſuch a Degree, that when ſome leading Men among the *Swiſs*, who were in his Intereſt, had given him Hopes of reconciling himſelf with that Nation, if he granted their Demands of augmenting their Penſions, he again obſtinately refuſed it, ſaying he did not intend to be mulcted. And farther, making Uſe of rough Means where gentle Remedies were neceſſary, he prohibited the Exportation of Proviſions out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in hopes of conſtraining the *Swiſs*, who from the Barrenneſs of their Country muſt be great Sufferers by ſuch a Prohibition, to renew the Confederacy on the antient Conditions.

Council of *Piſa* opened.

In the mean time came on the Firſt of *September*, the Day appointed for giving a Beginning to the Council of *Piſa*, when the Proxies of the Cardinals being arrived

in

in that City made ſeveral Acts, in the Name of their Conſtituents, relating to the Opening of the Seſſion*. This Tranſaction highly provoked the Indignation of the Pope againſt the *Florentines* for conſenting that the Conventicle (for ſo he always called it) ſhould be begun within their Dominions; and he declared that both the Cities of *Florence* and *Piſa* were become liable to the Eccleſiaſtic Interdict by virtue of the Bull of the Council called by himſelf, in which it was contained that whoſoever favoured the *Piſan* Conventicle ſhould be excommunicated and interdicted, and ſubjected to all the Pains and Penalties ordained by the Severity of the Laws againſt Schiſmatics and Heretics. Then threatening them alſo with temporal Arms, he appointed the Cardinal *de' Medici* Legate of *Perugia*; and the Cardinal of *Regino*, Legate of *Bologna*, dying a few Days after, he

A. D. 1511.

* The Cardinals who were the Pope's Adverſaries ſent three Proxies to *Piſa*, purſuant to their own Way of Reaſoning, by which they concluded that ſince the Council had been proclaimed to be held in that City, it was neceſſary to ſit there two or three Times. Theſe Proxies made ſome Acts relating to Prevention and the Corroboration of their Rights; but proceeded no farther becauſe, as *Buonacorſi* ſays, they were forbidden by the *Florentines*.

A. D. 1511. he tranſlated him to that Legation, with a View that, by placing a Pretender to that State with ſo great an Authority near their Borders, they might take Occaſion to fall into Diſtractions and Jealouſies amongſt themſelves, which he hoped might eaſily ſucceed from the preſent Circumſtances of that City. For, beſides that ſome deſired the Return of the Family of the *Medici*; Diſcords and Diviſions, the antient Bane of *Florence*, prevailed among ſome of the moſt conſiderable Citizens, and were occaſioned at that time by the Greatneſs and Authority of the Gonfaloniére, which ſome, out of Ambition and Emulation, knew not how to bear. Some were diſſatisfied at his arrogating to himſelf in the public Reſolutions more perhaps than belonged to his Place, to the Excluſion of others whoſe Quality entitled them to a Share. It grieved them to ſee the Government of the City conſtituted in two Extremes, that is to ſay, in a public Head and a popular Council; and that there wanted, what is required in the right Inſtitution of a Republic, a Senate duly ordained, by means of which, beſides its ſerving as a Temperament

Diviſions among the *Florentines.*

perament between both theſe Extremes, the principal and beſt Citizens might be promoted to a more honourable Degree in the Commonwealth; and that the Gonfaloniere, who had been elected principally to give Orders for this Purpoſe had, in this Reſpect, either out of Ambition or groundleſs Jealouſies, acted quite the contrary Part. But what theſe Citizens deſired, though reaſonable, was not however of ſuch Importance as that it ought to diſpoſe their Minds to Diviſions, conſidering that even without it they obtained an honourable Place, and the Management of public Affairs was not in effect tranſacted without them; but it unhappily proved the Origin and principal Cauſe of moſt grievous Calamities to that City. From theſe Foundations aroſe the Diviſion between the Citizens, and it appearing to the Adverſaries of the Gonfaloniere that he and his Brother the Cardinal of *Volterra* had a Dependance on the King of *France*, and relied on his Friendſhip, they oppoſed with all their Might thoſe Reſolutions which were to paſs in favour of that King, and were deſirous that the Pontiff ſhould prevail. To the

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. the ſame Principles alſo it was owing that the Name of the Family of the *Medici* began to be leſs odious in the City; for thoſe great Citizens who did not deſire their Return, yet, out of Envy to the Gonfaloniere, would no longer concern themſelves in perſecuting them, nor in preventing, as they had done at other times, their Fellow-Citizens from holding Correſpondence with them; and by thus making a Show, in order to humble the Gonfaloniere, as if they ſtood upon good Terms with the *Medici*, they brought themſelves under ſome Suſpicion that they really deſired the Aggrandizement of that Family. Hence it came to paſs that not only their true Friends, who were of little Importance, began to entertain Hopes of a Change, but alſo many young Men of the Nobility, incited either by their own Prodigality, ſome private Quarrel, or an ambitious Deſire of domineering over others, longed for a Change in the State by Means of their Return. And this Diſpoſition had for ſeveral Years been nouriſhed and increaſed by the Cardinal *de Medici* with mighty Cunning and Artfulneſs: For after the Death of *Piero* his

his Brother, whoſe Name was had in Fear and Abhorrence, pretending that he never deſigned to intermeddle in the Affairs of *Florence*, nor aſpire to the antient Greatneſs of his Family, he always received with the higheſt Careſſes all the *Florentines* that came to *Rome*, and readily fatigued himſelf in ſerving them in their Buſineſs. And he was no leſs diſpoſed to do any kind Office for thoſe who had been profeſſed Enemies to his Brother than for others, laying all the Fault upon him, as if all Malice and all Offences were terminated by his Death. By this Manner of Proceeding, in which he continued ſeveral Years, accompanied with the Character which he had obtained in the Court of *Rome*, of being naturally liberal, obſequious and kind to every Body, he had rendered himſelf acceptable to many in *Florence*; and therefore *Julius*, who was deſirous of changing that Government, took no imprudent Step in appointing him to that Legation. *A. D.* 1511.

THE *Florentines* appealed from the Pope's Interdict, not naming in their Ap-

A. D. 1511. Appeal the *Piſan* Council, but, to give him leſs Offence, only to a Holy Council of the univerſal Church; and acting as if the Effects of the Interdict were ſuſpended by the Appeal, the Prieſts of the four principal Churches were conſtrained, by Orders of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, to celebrate divine Service publicly in their Churches. Hence the Diviſion of the Citizens became the more eaſily diſcovered, ſince every one was left at liberty to obſerve or deſpiſe the Interdict.

Florentines appeal from the Interdict.

THE Ambaſſadors of the Kings of *Aragon* and *England* now renewed their Inſtances with the King of *France*, offering him Peace with the Pope on the Reſtitution of *Bologna* to the Church, and the Appearance of the Cardinals, for whom they would engage the Pope's Pardon, at the *Lateran* Council. But the King, being reſtrained from giving his Conſent by his Regard to *Bologna*, anſwered that he did not defend a City that was contumacious and rebellious againſt the Church, under whoſe Dominion and Obedience it had continued very many Years

King of *France* refuſes Terms of Peace with the Pope.

Years before the Pontificate of *Julius*, who ought not to aim at more Authority than his Predeceſſors enjoyed while they held it. And as for the Council of *Piſa*, it had been ſet on foot with a very laudable and pious Intention of reforming the notorious and intolerable Diſorders in the Church, which, without Danger of a Schiſm or Diviſion, might be reſtored to its antient Splendor, if the Pope, as it was juſt and fit, would give his Sanction to that Council. To this he added, that the Pope's reſtleſs and quarrelſome Diſpoſition, and his eager Inclination to Wars, had conſtrained him to enter into an Obligation for protecting *Bologna*; and therefore he was reſolved to defend it, for the Sake of his Honour, as heartily as he would defend the City of *Paris*. A. D. 1511.

THE Pope therefore caſting away all Thoughts of Peace, and incited by his inveterate Malice and Paſſions, by his Deſire of recovering *Bologna*, by his Diſdain and Fear of a Council, and laſtly by an Apprehenſion that if he deferred any longer to come to a Reſolution he ſhould be

A. D. 1511. be abandoned by all, for the *Spaniſh* Troops had already begun to embark at *Capri*, with a ſeeming Intention of paſſing to *Africa*, reſolved to ſign the League which he had negotiated with the Catholic King and the *Venetian* Senate, which was ſolemnly publiſhed on the fifth of *October*, in the Preſence of the Pope and all the Cardinals, at the Church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*. It imported that the Parties concerned entered into this Confederacy, principally with a View to preſerve the Union of the Church, and for the Extirpation of the Schiſm of which it ſtood in imminent Danger from the *Piſan* Conventicle; and for the Recovery of the City of *Bologna* immediately appertaining to the Apoſtolic See, and of all the other Towns and Places that either mediately or immediately belonged to it, under which Meaning was comprehended *Ferrara*: Whoever ſhould oppoſe them in the Execution of theſe Deſigns, or endeavour to obſtruct their Progreſs (in which Words they had an Eye to the King of *France*) they would act againſt them with a powerful Army, in order to drive

League between the Pope, *Venetians*, and King of *Aragon*.

drive them quite out of *Italy*. For theſe Purpoſes the Pontiff was obliged by this Confederacy to furniſh Four Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot; the *Venetian* Senate Eight Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand light Horſe, and Eight Thouſand Foot; and the King of *Aragon* Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, One Thouſand light Horſe, and Ten Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, towards the Maintenance of which the Pope was to contribute during the War Twenty Thouſand Ducats each Month, the *Venetians* the like Sum, advancing Two Months preſent Pay, within which Time the *Spaniſh* Forces were to arrive in *Romagna*, or wherever the confederate Army was to rendevouze. The King of *Aragon* obliged himſelf to man out Twelve light Galleys, and Fourteen were to be fitted out by the *Venetians*, who were at the ſame time to begin the War againſt the King of *France* in *Lombardy*; and Don *Raymond* of *Cardona*, a *Catalonian*, and then Viceroy of *Naples*, was to be General of the Army. If any Towns ſhould be conquered in *A. D.* 1511.

A. D. 1511. *Lombardy*, which had belonged to the *Venetians*, they were to be determined by the Pope, who ſhould without Delay, by a ſeparate Writing, adjudge them to be reſtored to their former Poſſeſſors. To *Cæſar* was reſerved Liberty of acceding to this Confederacy, and alſo to the King of *England*; to the firſt with uncertain Hopes of ſeparating him at laſt from the *French* Alliance; and to the other by expreſs Conſent of the Cardinal of *York*, who had conſtantly aſſiſted at the Conferences. Soon after the Concluſion of the Treaty died *Gieronimo Donato*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, who by his Prudence and Dexterity had greatly ingratiated himſelf with the Pope, which he improved by doing ſignal Services to his Country during his Embaſſy.

Various Opinions of the new League.

THIS Confederacy, made by the Pope under the Name of delivering *Italy* from Barbarians, occaſioned various Sentiments in the Minds of Men according to their different Paſſions and Underſtandings. Many taken with the Speciouſneſs and Magnificence of the Title praiſed up to the

the Skies ſo high and noble a Project; calling it a Profeſſion truly worthy of the pontifical Majeſty, and of the great Soul of *Julius*, who could not have undertaken an Enterprize more generous, and which was formed with no leſs Prudence than Magnanimity; ſince he had politickly contrived that Barbarians ſhould encounter with Barbarians, and that Foreigners more than *Italians* ſhould ſpend their Blood againſt the *French*, by which Means he would not only ſave the Lives of his Countrymen, but, after he had driven out one of the Parties, leave it much eaſier to expel the other, already weakened and enervated, with the Arms and Forces of *Italy*. A. D. 1511.

OTHERS there were, and perhaps of deeper Penetration; who, not ſuffering their Eyes to be dazzled with the Splendor of a Name, were afraid that the Wars, which ſhould begin with an Intention of delivering *Italy* from Barbarians, would have a more fatal Influence on the vital Spirits of that Body, than thoſe which were undertaken with a manifeſt Profeſſion, and a

A. D. 1511. moſt certain Intention of reducing it under Subjection; and that it favoured more of Raſhneſs than Prudence to expect that the *Italian* Forces, without Valour, Diſcipline, Reputation, or Generals of Authority, and where the Princes have different Views, ſhould be ſufficient to drive out of *Italy* the Conqueror, who, when all other Remedies failed, would be ſure to join with the Conquered for the general Deſtruction of all the *Italians*; and that there was much more Reaſon to fear that theſe new Movements would expoſe *Italy* to the Ravages of new Barbarians, than to hope that the Arms of the Pope and *Venetians* in conjunction ſhould be powerful enough to ſubdue the *French* and *Spaniards*. *Italy* had Reaſon to wiſh, ſaid they, that the Diſcords and perverſe Councils of its Princes had never opened a Way for foreign Armies to invade that Country; but ſince it was ſo unhappy that two of its moſt noble Members were fallen under Subjection to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, it ought to be accounted a leſſer Calamity that both of them ſhould remain in the Hands of the preſent Poſſeſſors

Poſſeſſors till the divine Goodneſs, or a happy Turn of Fortune afforded a more ſeaſonable Juncture, while in the mean time, by preſerving a Balance of Power between the two Kings, the Liberty of thoſe who were not yet reduced under Servitude was ſecured, than that the Princes ſhould take up Arms one againſt another, by which means thoſe Parts of *Italy* which had hitherto been unaffected, would become Scenes of infinite Depredations, Burnings, Slaughters, and tragical Incidents, 'till at laſt the Parties that remained Conquerors would reduce the whole Country under the moſt diſmal and oppreſſive Slavery. A. D. 1511.

But the Pope, who had other Sentiments, aſſuming greater and more ardent Spirits from the new Confederacy, as ſoon as the Time prefixed in the Monitory before iſſued to the Cardinals that were Authors of the Council was expired, ſummoned with great Solemnity a public Conſiſtory, where being veſted with the pontifical Robes, and ſeated in the Hall called the King's Hall, he declared the Cardinals

A. D. 1511. of *Santa Croce*, *San Malo*, *Coſenza*, and *Bayeux* degraded from the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, and to have incurred all the Pains and Penalties denounced againſt Schiſmatics and Heretics. Beſides this he iſſued a Monitory, drawn up in the ſame Form, to the Cardinal of *San Severino*, who had hitherto been unmoleſted; and proceeding with the ſame Ardor on his warlike Schemes he was continually ſolliciting the March of the *Spaniards*, with an Intention, before all other Enterpriſes, to make an Attack upon the *Florentines*, in order to induce that Republic to come into the Meaſures of the Confederates by reſtoring the Family of the *Medici* to the Government; and with no leſs Deſire to ſatiate the immoderate Hatred which he had conceived againſt *Piero Soderini* the Gonfaloniere, as if it were by means of his Authority that the *Florentines* could never be induced to renounce their Alliance with *France*, and had given their Conſent that a Council ſhould be held in *Piſa*.

Pope meditates a War againſt the *Florentines*.

THE *Florentines* penetrating into the Pope's Reſolution by many Indications, Preparations

Preparations were made at *Florence* for ſuſtaining a War, and among other Proviſions it was propoſed, as a very proper Expedient, that ſince they were unjuſtly attacked by the Arms of the Church they ſhould employ the Revenues of the Church in their own Defence, and for this Purpoſe conſtrain the Eccleſiaſtics to contribute a very large Sum of Money, but with this Precaution, that it ſhould be depoſited in a Place of Security, and not expended except in caſe of a War; but if all Apprehenſions of a War ſhould ceaſe, the Money was to be returned to the Contributors. Many of the Citizens oppoſed this Motion; ſome out of Fear of incurring the Cenſures and Penalties impoſed by the Canon Laws on the Violators of the Eccleſiaſtic Liberties; but the greater Part from a Spirit of Contradiction to whatever ſhould be propoſed by the Gonfaloniere, who, it was not doubted, was the principal Author and Promoter of this Meaſure. But the new Law deſigned for the Purpoſe abovementioned, by the Diligence of the Gonfaloniere, and the Inclinations of many others had paſſed the A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. Approbation of the leſſer Aſſemblies, and nothing was wanting but the Sanction of the Grand Council, which was aſſembled for that Purpoſe, when the Gonfaloniere made the following Speech for the Cauſe.

Speech of the Gonfaloniere of *Florence*

"There is no Perſon here preſent, moſt worthy Citizens, who can juſtly doubt that the Pope was always deſirous of ſubverting your Liberty, not only from what appears at preſent in his ſo precipitately ſubjecting you to an Interdict, without hearing your many and very juſt Apologies, or regarding the Hopes you had given him that you would operate in ſuch a Manner that in a few Days the Council ſhould remove from *Piſa*, but much more from the continued Courſe of his Actions during the whole Time of his Pontificate. That I may briefly recount ſome Particulars, for to bring them all to your Remembrance would tire your Patience, who is there that can be ignorant that in the War againſt the *Piſans*, we never could obtain of him, though frequently ſupplicated, the leaſt Favour, either public or private, though the Juſtice of our Cauſe deſerved

deſerved it, and the Extinction of a Fire, which not many Years before had given Occaſion to very grievous Diſorders, concerned the Security of the State of the Church, and the Peace of all *Italy*? On the contrary (what was from that time ſuſpected, and of which ſince our Victory we have always received more perfect Aſſurance) as often as the Men of *Piſa* had recourſe to him, he gave them a gracious Audience, and encouraged them in their Obſtinacy with various Hopes. And this Inclination of his is no new Thing, it took Root in him while he was yet a Cardinal; for we all know that after the *French* had raiſed the Siege of *Piſa*, he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours with the King of *France* and the Cardinal of *Rouen*, that the *Piſans* might be received under the royal Protection, and the *Florentines* excluded. And ſince he was Pontiff he never granted to our Republic any of thoſe Favours of which the Apoſtolic See is wont to be very liberal; for in all our Wants and Neceſſities he never ſo much as once conſented that we ſhould help ourſelves with the Revenues of the Eccleſiaſtics, though *A. D.* 1511.

Alexander

A. D. 1511. *Alexander* VI. who was ſo great an Enemy to this Republic, had ſeveral times granted us that Favour. But he ſhewed the ſame Diſpoſition towards us in ſmaller Matters as he had in thoſe of greater Moment; for he even denied us his Permiſſion to exact any Money of the Clergy for the Maintenance of the public Schools, though it was but a ſmall Sum, had been levied by Licence from ſo many Popes, and was to be converted to the pious Uſes of Inſtruction and Literature. The Negotiation of *Bartolomeo d'Alviano* with Cardinal *Aſcanio* in *Rome* was not tranſacted without the Conſent of the Pope, of which at that Time there were many Indications, and the ſame would ſoon have appeared in manifeſt Effects, if the moſt conſiderable Perſons that aſſiſted at the Treaty had not withdrawn themſelves on the ſudden Death of the Cardinal. But though the firſt Foundation of their Devices thus failed, the Pope would never conſent, in Compliance with our juſt Intreaties, to prohibit *Alviano* from muſtering and keeping up a Body of Troops in the *Roman* Territory, though he prohibited the *Colonnas* and

and the *Savelli*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance we might have diverted our Dangers with a ſmall Expence, from attacking the States of thoſe who were preparing to fall upon us. In the Affairs of *Siena* he always defended *Pandolfo Petrucci* againſt us, and conſtrained us by Threats to prolong the Truce; nor did he afterwards interpoſe his Intereſt for our Recovery of *Monte Pulciano*, for whoſe Defence he had ſent Troops to *Siena*, from any other Motive than his Fears that we ſhould call the *French* Army into *Tuſcany*. On the contrary, for our Parts, we never did him any Injury, but always behaved ourſelves with becoming Devotion towards the Church, and took particular Care to gratify him in all his Demands as far as lay in our Power, and lent him, without any Obligation, but even contrary to our Intereſt, our Troops for the Enterpriſe againſt *Bologna*. But no kind Offices, no Obſequiouſneſs are ſufficient to pacify his Spirit, of which there are a Multitude of Proofs, but the moſt flagrant, which, that I might not appear tranſported with Reſentment, and becauſe it is freſh in the Memory of all People, I would

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. would chuſe to paſs over in Silence, is his lending an Ear, to ſay no worſe, to thoſe Villains who offered to aſſaſſinate me; not out of any private Pique, for I had never offended him, and when he was a Cardinal was always honourably received by him, but from a paſſionate Deſire to deprive you of your Liberty. For it has been his conſtant Aim that this Republic ſhould concur with him in his immoderate and unjuſt Deſigns, and ſhould participate of his Expences and of his Dangers. But deſpairing of any imprudent and precipitous Reſolutions from the Moderation and Maturity of your Counſels, he has endeavoured to compaſs his Ends by introducing into this City a Tyranny dependent on himſelf, under which the public Councils and Adminiſtration would be directed, not with a Regard to your Welfare, but according to the Dictates of his own violent and unruly Deſires, which, being founded on boundleſs and ambitious Views, have no other Tendency than to kindle War after War, and to keep alive a perpetual Flame in Chriſtendom. And who can in the leaſt doubt but at this very Inſtant,

Inſtant, when he finds himſelf united with ſuch potent Allies, is abſolute Lord of *Romagna*, and has the *Seneſe* at his Devotion, by which means he has opened a Way to penetrate into the Bowels of our Country, he has a full Intention to employ his Forces againſt us? That he will uſe his Endeavours to gain his Ends by open Force, ſince he could not compaſs them ſecretly by Fraud and Treachery; and ſtrive to accompliſh what he has ſo long and ardently deſired, and with an Eagerneſs in proportion to our bad State of Defence? If we ſhould want any other Proof, has not he himſelf ſufficiently demonſtrated his Intentions by juſt now deputing the Cardinal *de' Medici* his Legate to *Bologna*, with a Deſign to put him at the Head of an Army; a Cardinal never honoured nor beneficed by him, and in whom he never ſeemed to place any Confidence? What can be the Meaning of this, but that, by inveſting with Authority, appointing upon your Borders, and thus as it were placing upon your Necks, with ſo much Dignity and Honour, and with a military Force, a Man who aſpires to be your Tyrant, he would

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A. D. 1511. would give Encouragement to thoſe Citizens (if any are ſo depraved) who are more in Love with Tyranny than Liberty, and excite your Subjects to an Inſurrection at the Name of the *Medici*? For theſe Reaſons my honourable Colleagues, with many other good and well affected Citizens, have judged it neceſſary that for the Defence of their Liberty there ſhould be made the ſame Proviſions as would have been done if the War had been certain; and that though it be probable that the King of *France*, from a Regard to his own Intereſt, will ſend us a powerful Aſſiſtance, we ought not, in Reliance on thoſe Hopes, to omit thoſe Remedies which are in our own Power, nor forget that many Impediments may poſſibly intervene, which may deprive us of ſome Part of thoſe Succours. We cannot think that any one will deny this Counſel to be ſafe and neceſſary; and whoever ſhall oppoſe it may poſſibly be influenced by ſome other Motives than a Zeal for the public Welfare. But there are yet ſome who argue that, as we are uncertain whether the Pope has determined to make War upon

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us, it would be an impolitic Reſolution to offend his Authority by laying an Impoſition on the Eſtates of Eccleſiaſtics, and by giving him juſt Cauſe of Reſentment provoke him to enter upon a War as it were by Neceſſity: As if his Intentions were not manifeſtly comprehended by ſuch a Number of evident Proofs and Tokens; and as if it were the Part of prudent Adminiſtrators of a Republic to delay their Preparations till the Attack was begun, and chuſe to receive the mortal Blow from the Enemy before they put on the Armour neceſſary for their Defence. Others ſay we ought not to draw upon ourſelves, beſides the Pope's Anger, the Wrath of God, but provide for our Security by ſome other Means; ſince we are not under that preſſing Neceſſity without which it is always forbidden the Laity, under the moſt grievous Penalties, by the Canon Laws, to lay any Burdens upon the Eſtates or Perſons of Eccleſiaſtics. This Objection alſo has been conſidered by us, and by others who have promoted this Law. But the public Revenues not being ſufficient, as you know, to defray the current Expences

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A. D. 1511. pences of the Government, and your Purſes exhauſted by long and heavy Taxes, and every one being ſenſible that in a War new Impoſitions may be requiſite on every Emergency, who does not ſee that it is highly expedient, and even neceſſary, that the Expences we ſhall incur by defending ourſelves in a War carried on againſt us by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhould be defrayed in Part by the Treaſures of Eccleſiaſtics; which have been frequently employed in our City, and much oftener by all other Princes and Republics; but never, either here or elſewhere, with greater Caution and Moderation, ſince they are not to be applied to any other Uſe, and are beſides to be depoſited in a Place of Security, and reſtored, if our Fears ſhould prove vain, to the Religious themſelves? If the Pontiff then ſhould not attack us, the Money of the Eccleſiaſtics will not be ſpent, nor in effect will there be any Hardſhip impoſed upon them; if he falls upon us, who can blame us if by all Means poſſible we endeavour to defend ourſelves from ſo unjuſt a War? What Cauſe has this Republic, which ſuffered a Council to be called at

Piſa

Piſa not out of Choice but Neceſſity, as he very well knows, given him of Provocation or Reſentment? Unleſs a Man can be ſaid to provoke and incenſe another by not ſtretching forth his Neck, and laying open his Breaſt for receiving his Strokes, though, in truth, he does not provoke and incite him by ſtanding upon his Guard, and preparing to reſiſt his unjuſt Violence. Well might we be ſaid to provoke and ſtir up the Pontiff, if we neglected our own Defence; for the Hopes of eaſy Succeſs in his Enterpriſe would increaſe the Ardor and Violence of his Efforts for deſtroying the very Foundations of your Liberty. Nor let the Fear of offending the divine Majeſty reſtrain you; for the Danger is great and evident, and ſuch are our Wants and Neceſſities (nothing of greater Moment, or that may tend more to our Prejudice poſſibly falling under our Conſideration) that we are permitted to aſſiſt ourſelves not only with that Part of the Revenues which is not converted to pious Uſes, but it would be even lawful for us to lay our Hands on Things conſecrated; becauſe Self-Defence is allowed to all Men by the Law of Na-

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A. D. 1511. ture, and approved by Almighty God, and the Conſent of all Nations; had its Beginning and will end with the World, and can ſuffer no Derogation by Civil or Canon Laws, which are founded on the Will of Men, and being written on Paper cannot invalidate a Law, not made by Men, but written, engraved and infixed in the Breaſts and Minds of all human Generations. Nor are we to wait till we are reduced to extreme Neceſſity; for when we are brought into ſuch a State, and ſurrounded, and in a manner oppreſſed with Enemies, it would be too late to have recourſe to Remedies, too late to make uſe of Antidotes, when the Poiſon has incorporated itſelf with the Body. Beſides, how can it be denied that private Perſons labour under very great Hardſhips, ſince by the heavy Taxes a very conſiderable Part of them have been conſtrained to retrench from thoſe Expences without which they cannot live but with very great Inconveniency, and a conſiderable Diminution of Things neceſſary to ſupport their Rank? This Neceſſity is conſidered by the Laws, which intend not that you ſhould wait till your Citizens

Citizens are in Danger of a Famine, and no longer able to ſupport themſelves and their Families. On the other hand the Eccleſiaſtics will be under no Inconveniency from this Impoſition, but only that of parting with ſuch a Portion of their Revenues, as they would either let lie uſeleſs in their Coffers, or conſume in ſuperfluous Expences, or perhaps many of them, pardon the Expreſſion, in unlawful and indecent Pleaſures. It is the common Opinion of all Sages that God is highly pleaſed with the Liberties of Cities, becauſe by them the common Good is more conſulted than under any other Form of Government, Juſtice is adminiſtered with greater Impartiality, the Minds of the Citizens are more incited to virtuous and honourable Actions, and more Reſpect and Reverence are paid to Religion. And can you believe that the Almighty will be diſpleaſed at your defending a Thing ſo precious as Liberty, for which whoever ſpends his Blood meets with the higheſt Praiſes, by employing a ſmall Part of your temporal Profits and Revenues for that Purpoſe? Theſe Temporalities, though

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A. D. 1511. dedicated to the Churches, came into their Poſſeſſion either as Alms, Donations, or Legacies from our Anceſtors, and will be as well ſpent for the Preſervation and Security of thoſe Churches, which in Times of War will be as much expoſed as ſecular Things to the Cruelty and Avarice of the Soldiers, and will be no more reſpected in a War made by the Pope, than in one under the Management of an impious Tyrant, or the *Turks* themſelves. Aſſiſt now, my beloved Fellow Citizens, your dear Country, and ſtand up for your Liberties, while it is in your Power, and be aſſured that you cannot perform any Service more pleaſing and acceptable in the Sight of God Almighty; and that to keep off a War from your Houſes and Lands, your Temples and Monaſteries, there is no better Expedient than to convince the Enemy who intends to diſtreſs you, that you are determined to uſe all poſſible Means for your Defence."

AFTER this Speech of the Gonſaloniere, the Majority of the Great Council made no Difficulty of paſſing the Law. But when

when this Tranſaction came to the Know- *A. D.* 1511.
ledge of the Pope, it provoked his Indignation beyond Meaſure, and he laboured with the greater Earneſtneſs to diſpoſe the Confederates to begin the War by attacking the *Florentines*. But he ſuffered himſelf, as well as thoſe who negotiated the Affairs of the King of *Aragon* in *Italy*, to be diverted from that Project by the Perſuaſions of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who adviſed them to make an Attack upon *Bologna*. For *Pandolfo* deteſting a War in *Tuſcany* remonſtrated that *Bologna* was incapable of defending itſelf with its own Strength, and would be defended only by the Forces of the King of *France*; whereas they would meet with Reſiſtance from the *Florentines*, by their own Power as well as that of the ſame King, who, for his own Intereſt would defend them as much as he would *Bologna*: That the *Florentines*, tho' well affected to the King of *France*, were yet ſo prudent, and zealous for the Preſervation of their State, that during ſuch great Commotions they had not, in compliance with his Inſtances, acted offenſively againſt any State, nor

A. D. 1511. been ſerviceable to him in any Reſpect, but in furniſhing him with Two Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of his Dominions in *Lombardy*, to which they were obliged by the Articles of the Treaty concluded with the Catholic King as well as himſelf: That they could not do a more acceptable Piece of Service to the King of *France*, than to neceſſitate the *Florentines* to depart from their Neutrality, and join with him in one common Cauſe. It would be highly imprudent, he continued, that when the King had in vain ſollicited them by Intreaties and Promiſes to declare for him, his Enemies ſhould be the Cauſe of his obtaining his Ends, which he had failed of accompliſhing by his own Authority. Every one was ſenſible by many Signs, but he himſelf had moſt certain Information, that it was very diſagreeble to the *Florentines* that a Council ſhould be held in *Piſa*, and they had not conſented to it for any other Reaſon than that they durſt not reject the Demands of the *French* King which were made immediately after the Rebellion of *Bologna*, and when they ſaw no Forces in *Italy*

Italy aſſembled to oppoſe him: It was certain that the Council was promoted by the Authority of *Cæſar*, and it was believed that it had alſo the Conſent of the Catholic King: That he knew alſo that the *Florentines* could by no means endure to have *French* Soldiers quartered in their Dominions; that it would be highly pernicious to threaten and exaſperate them, but on the contrary would prove of great Advantage to deal with them mildly, and ſeem to admit of their Excuſes; for by thus proceeding they would either obtain of them in time, or on ſome fit Opportunity, what at preſent could not be expected; or, at leaſt, by not conſtraining them by Fear to take new Reſolutions, would lull them aſleep, ſo as to receive no Damage from them in Times of Danger; and when the Victory was once obtained it would be in the Power of the Confederates to impoſe on the *Florentines* what Form of Government they thought moſt expedient. The Authority of *Pandolfo* in this Cauſe was diminiſhed by knowing that he was prompted by his own private Intereſt to wiſh that no War of ſuch Conſequence

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A. D. 1511. might be commenced in *Tuſcany*, by which all Parts of that Country would be ravaged and deſtroyed as much by the Armies of Friends as by thoſe of Enemies. His Reaſons however appeared to have ſo much Weight in them, that it was eaſily reſolved to forbear attacking the *Florentines*; and what made this Counſel the better eſteemed was the Diſpute that happened not many Days after between the *Florentines* and the Cardinals. Theſe Cardinals, as we obſerved before, were not preſent at the firſt Acts of the Council, but had ſtopped at the Village of *San Donino*, either with an Intent to wait for the Prelates who were coming from *France*, or for thoſe whom the King of the *Romans* had promiſed to ſend, or for ſome other Reaſons. They ſet out from hence by different Roads; and it was reported that the two *Spaniſh* Cardinals who had taken their Rout for *Bologna* would reconcile themſelves to the Pope; for they were known to be continually treating with the Ambaſſador of the King of *Aragon* at the Pope's Court; and as they had demanded and obtained of the *Florentines* a Safeguard for their Reſidence

Proceedings of the Schiſmatic Cardinals.

ſidence in *Florence*, the Report gained Credit. But their Eminences being arrived in the Territory of *Mugello* ſuddenly turned towards *Lucca* to join with the others, either becauſe they had really ſo determined before; or becauſe in the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* in particular his old Ambition had at laſt got the better of his new Fear; or, laſtly, becauſe they had in that Place received Advice of their Degradation, and deſpaired of accommodating Matters with the Pope. The three *French* Cardinals *San Malo*, *Albret*, and *Bayeux*, at the ſame time paſſed the *Appenine* by the Road of *Pontremoli*, attended by the *French* Prelates; after whom followed, at their Requeſt, Three Hundred *French* Lances, commanded by *Odet de Foix* Lord of *Lautrec*, appointed by the Cardinals to guard the Council, either becauſe they thought it dangerous to ſtay in *Piſa* without ſuch a Guard, or that the Council, accompanied by the Arms of the King of *France*, might proceed with the greater Authority; or really, as they ſaid themſelves, that they might have the Power to ſuppreſs ſuch as ſhould dare to oppoſe or diſobey their Decrees. *A. D.* 1511.

As

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As ſoon as the *Florentines* were appriſed of this Appointment, which had been concealed from them till the Troops were on their March, they came to a Reſolution not to admit into a City of ſuch Importance ſo great a Number of Soldiers, conſidering the Diſaffection of the *Piſans*, and remembering that the late Rebellion was kindled by the Preſence and Permiſſion of the *French* King *Charles*, and the Inclination that the *French* Soldiers had ever ſhewn to the *Piſans*. Beſides, they doubted that ſome dangerous Accident might happen from the Inſolence of the military Men; but they much more dreaded that if *French* Forces ſhould be received into *Piſa*, Occaſions might thence ariſe, and perhaps at the ſecret Deſire of the King, for making *Tuſcany* the Seat of War. They ſignified therefore at the ſame time to the King the Difficulty of quartering ſo many Troops in a narrow and barren Country, which could hardly yield Subſiſtence to thoſe Multitudes that were coming to the Council; and that ſuch a Guard was quite unneceſſary, becauſe they had taken care that *Piſa* ſhould

Florentines refuſe to admit French Troops into Piſa.

ſhould be under ſuch ſtrict Regulations and Government, as to afford a very ſecure Reſidence for the Cardinals, without the leaſt Danger of Inſults from Foreigners, or Oppoſition from the Inhabitants. To the Cardinal of *San Malo*, by whoſe Dictates the *French* were directed in theſe Affairs, they gave Notice that they had reſolved not to admit any Soldiers into *Piſa*. His Eminence, ſeeming to give his Conſent in Words, gave Orders for the Troops to ſeparate, but at the ſame time to proceed forwards, making the leaſt Show that was poſſible; perſuadlng himſelf that when they approached *Piſa* they would make their Way into it, either by Force or Art, or becauſe the *Florentines* would not preſume to offer ſo great an Affront to the King as to forbid their Entrance. But as the King in his Anſwer had ſaid expreſly that his Troops ſhould not march, the *Florentines* diſpatched *Franceſco Vettori* on an Embaſſy to the Cardinal of *San Malo* to controul his Pride, and aſſure him that if the Cardinals ſet Foot on their Dominions with an armed Force they would not only refuſe them an Entrance into *Piſa*, but perſecute

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A. D. 1511. perſecute them as Enemies, and would act in the ſame Manner if their Men at Arms paſſed the *Apennine* towards *Tuſcany*, for it was preſumed that they would not paſs with any other Intention than, by ſome ſecret and fraudulent Contrivance, to get into *Piſa**. This Meſſage had ſuch an Effect upon the Cardinal that he ordered the Troops to return beyond the *Apennine*, the *Florentines* conſenting that he ſhould be attended with an Hundred and Fifty Archers, and alſo *Lautrec* and *Chatillon*†.

THE Cardinals met altogether at *Lucca*, which City the Pope, for that Reaſon, declared to have incurred the Interdict. Their Eminences at their Departure from *Lucca* left the Cardinal of *Coſenza* ſick, who died a few Days after. The other four

* In the mean time the *Florentines* took care to provide *Piſa* with a Guard, ſent for ſeveral *Piſan* Citizens to *Florence*, and ordered all their Men at Arms to be quartered in the Neighbourhood of *Piſa*, that they might not be taken unprovided. *Buonac.*

† The Pope was ſo pleaſed that the *Florentines* had cauſed the *French* Troops to return back, that he ſuſpended the Interdict publiſhed againſt *Piſa* and *Florence* till the Middle of *November*; the Cardinals arrived at *Piſa* the laſt Day of *Octōber*, 1511. *Buonac.*

four went to *Piſa*, where they were neither received with Chearfulneſs by the Magiſtrates, nor with Reverence and Devotion by the Populace; becauſe their Coming was very diſagreeable to the *Florentines*, and the Cauſe of the Council was in no Eſteem or Acceptation among the Chriſtian Nations. For though the Title or Profeſſion of reforming the Church was truly honourable, and highly beneficial, and no leſs neceſſary than acceptable to the whole Chriſtian World, yet every one was ſenſible that the Authors of the Council were moved by ambitious Ends, immoderately deſirous of temporal Preferments, and under the Pretence of the public Good had conſulted their private Intereſt; that whoever of them ſhould come to be Pontiff, he would ſtand in as much Need of Reformation as thoſe whom they pretended to reform; and that, beſides the Ambition of Prieſts, the Quarrels and Diſputes between Princes and States had raiſed and ſupported the Council. Theſe Reaſons had induced the King of *France* to procure it, the King of the *Romans* to conſent to it, and the King of *Aragon* to deſire

A. D. 1511. Cardinals at *Piſa*.

A. D. 1511. fire it. It was therefore clearly comprehended that the Cauſe of Armies and Empires was principally connected with the Cauſe of the Council, and the People abhorred that, under the pious Pretences of ſpiritual Concerns, the chief Care ſhould be directed to temporal Affairs, to be proſecuted by open Wars and ſhameful Actions. Hence the Cardinals were not only treated with viſible Marks of the public Hatred and Contempt at their Entrance into *Piſa*, but more manifeſtly in the Management of the Council. For having called the Clergy to aſſiſt at the firſt Seſſion in the Cathedral Church, not one of the Religious would appear; and when they deſigned, according to the Cuſtom of Councils, to celebrate the Maſs for imploring the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, the Prieſts belonging to that Church refuſed to lend them the Sacerdotal Ornaments; and proceeding to a greater Degree of Boldneſs, they locked the Doors of the Church, and oppoſed their Entrance. The Cardinals ſending their Complaints to *Florence*, the Government ordered that they ſhould have free Acceſs to the Churches,

Churches, and to the neceſſary Apparatus for celebrating divine Service, but the Clergy were not to be compelled to aſſiſt at it. Theſe Reſolutions, which were in a manner inconſiſtent with themſelves, proceeded from the Diviſions among the Citizens, who, while on one hand they received the Council into the Towns of the Republic, and on the other left its Members expoſed to Contempt and Affronts, offended the Pope, and at the ſame time diſpleaſed the King of *France*. The Cardinals therefore conſidering that to ſtay in *Piſa* without a Guard muſt be dangerous, and that the Authority of a Council muſt be weakened in a City that would not obey its Decrees, were inclined to leave the Place as ſoon as they had ſettled their Affairs: But they were conſtrained to haſten their Departure by an Accident which, tho' fortuitous, yet had its Foundation in the Diſaffection of the People. A *French* Soldier, it ſeems, having groſly abuſed a Whore in a public Place, the People who ſtood near began to cry out upon him. The Noiſe drew thither a Number

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of

A. D. 1511. of *French* with their Arms, as well Soldiers as Domeſtics of the Cardinals and the other Prelates, and on the other Side a great Concourſe of the *Piſan* Populace and *Florentine* Soldiers; and one Party crying up *France*, and the other *Marzocco* *, the Enſign of the Republic of *Florence*, there began a furious Fight between them: But the *French* and *Florentine* Officers running thither, the Tumult was at laſt appeaſed, after many on both Sides had been wounded, among whom were *Chatillon*, who had ruſhed in among them without Arms to put a Stop to the Fray in the Beginning, and *Lautrec*, who ran thither upon the like Occaſion, tho' their Wounds were but ſlight.

THE Cardinals, who at the ſame time happened to be aſſembled in the Church of *San Michele* near the Place where the Fray happened, were ſo terrified at this Accident, that in their ſecond Seſſion, which they held the next Day, they made an Act for removing the Council to *Milan*, and departed in all Haſte on the fifteenth Day

* A painted or engraved Lion.

Day after their Coming, to the great Joy of the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, and no leſs of the Prelates that attended the Council, and were much chagrined at their coming into a Place, which by the bad Condition of the Houſes, and many other Inconveniences proceeding from the long War, was by no means ſuited to the delicate and plentiful Life of Prieſts and of *Frenchmen*, and much more becauſe they came thither by the King's Orders, contrary to their own Inclination, and wiſhed for a Change of Place, or for any Accident that might embaraſs, prorogue, or diſſolve the Council. But the Cardinals, every where hated and deſpiſed by the People, would have met with the ſame or even worſe Treatment in *Milan*. For the *Milaneſe* Clergy, as ſoon as they had entered the City, regarding them not as Cardinals of the *Roman* Church, who uſed to be honoured and in a manner adored every where, but as profane and execrable Perſons, immediately refrained of themſelves from celebrating divine Service: And whenever they appeared in public the Populace

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Council of *Piſa* tranſlated to *Milan*.

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curſed and openly affronted them with reproachful Words and Geſtures, eſpecially the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was reputed the Author of the Schiſm, and was more diſtinguiſhed in the Eye of the Public, becauſe in the laſt Seſſion at *Piſa* he had been elected Preſident of the Council. Nothing was heard in all the Streets but Murmurings of the People: Councils, they ſaid, uſually brought with them Bleſſings, Peace, and Concord; this would produce nothing but Curſes, Wars, and Diſcord: Other Councils uſed to aſſemble for the Sake of reſtoring Unity to the Church; this met together with an Intent to divide it when it was united: The Contagion of ſuch a Plague communicated itſelf to all thoſe that received, obeyed, or favoured them, or in any Manner converſed with them, heard, or regarded them; and that nothing could be expected from their Coming but Sword, Famine, and Peſtilence, and in the end, Deſtruction both of Body and Soul. Theſe clamorous and almoſt tumultuous Speeches were repreſſed by *Gaſton de Foix*, whom the King a few Months before, at the Departure of Monſ.

Monſ. *Longueville*, had conſtituted Governor of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and General of the Army, who conſtrained the Clergy, by very ſevere Orders, to reſume the Exerciſe of their Functions, and the People to talk more modeſtly. *A. D.* 1511.

By reaſon of theſe Difficulties the Council opened with a very ill Aſpect, and the Hopes of the Cardinals were ſtill more diminiſhed by the Conduct of *Cæſar*, in delaying Day after Day to ſend either Prelates or Proxies, tho', beſides ſo many Promiſes made before, he had proteſted to the Cardinal of *San Severino*, and conſtantly aſſured the King of *France* that he would ſend them. But at the ſame time, either to excuſe himſelf, or being perſuaded by others that it was not becoming his Dignity to ſend to the *Piſan* Council the Prelates of his own States, unleſs it were in the Name of the whole *Germanic* Nation, he alledged that he had called a Convocation of the *German* Prelates at *Ausburg*, to deliberate in what Manner to proceed by common Conſent in the Affairs of that Council; and by

A. D. 1511. this Means, he aſſured the *French*, he would induce them all to appear in Perſon or by Proxy. The King fretted extremely at this ſhuffling Way of Proceeding in *Cæſar*, who, beſides the Coldneſs he ſhewed with regard to the Council, openly hearkened to an Accommodation with the *Venetians*, which was ſollicited with many Offers by the Pontiff and the King of *Aragon*. On the other hand he complained of the Catholic King, that he was not aſhamed openly to infringe the League of *Cambray*, and that in this new, not Confederacy, but Conſpiracy, he had named him as Party. He propoſed therefore to *Galeazzo di San Severino*, that he ſhould march to *Rome* in Perſon, on the Score of a private Enmity againſt the Pope, the King furniſhing him with Part of his Army, and a very large Sum of Money. He did not however propoſe theſe Things with ſuch an Aſſurance, but that it might be doubted, if all his Demands were ſatisfied, what would be his final Reſolution.

Cæſar ſuſpected by the King of *France*.

The King thus, as uſual, was held in Suſpenſe,

Suſpenſe, and involved in Doubts and Suſpicions. To abandon *Cæſar* would cauſe him to join with his Enemies; if he thought fit to ſupport him, his Alliance muſt be purchaſed with an immenſe Sum of Money, of which he did not know what would be the Fruits, ſince he had learnt by Experience that the Unſteadineſs of that Prince had often done him more Harm than he had received Benefit from his Aſſiſtance; ſo that the King was at a Loſs to determine with himſelf whether he had moſt Reaſon to be apprehenſive of the good or ill Succeſs of *Cæſar*. His Perplexity was increaſed as much as poſſible by the Catholic King, who, in order to make him ſlacken his Preparations for War, put him in Hopes that there would be no Occaſion for Acts of Hoſtility. The King of *England* did the like, and with the ſame Intent; for that Prince, in his Anſwer to the *French* Ambaſſador, aſſured him that it was not true that he had conſented to the League made at *Rome*, but that he was diſpoſed to obſerve the Confederacy which he had contracted with his Maſter. At

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King of *France* delibe-rates on the preſent Juncture.

A. D. 1511. the ſame time the Biſhop of *Tivoli* in the Name of the Pontiff propoſed Peace, provided the King would no longer favour the Council, and would withdraw his Protection from *Bologna*, offering to give him Security, if he complied, that the Pope ſhould attempt nothing further againſt him. The King was more diſpoſed to Peace, tho' on unequal Terms, than to run the Riſque of a War, which would require almoſt infinite Expences to make Head againſt his Enemies, and ſupport *Cæſar*; but it raiſed his Indignation to think that the King of *Aragon* ſhould in a manner force him to a Peace by the Terror of Arms. It was very difficult alſo to get Security that the Pope, after he had recovered *Bologna*, and was freed from the Fear of a Council, ſhould obſerve the Peace; and it was to be doubted, even if the King ſhould ſhew himſelf ready to conſent to the Conditions propoſed, whether the Pontiff would not retract, as he had done at other Times, which would be an Affront to the Majeſty of the King, and a Diminution of his Reputation, and *Cæſar* would think himſelf

himſelf injured by his Forwardneſs to conclude a ſeparate Peace, leaving him to continue the War againſt the *Venetians* by himſelf. Upon theſe Conſiderations he poſitively anſwered the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, that he would not conſent that *Bologna* ſhould be ſubject to the Church in any other Manner than it had uſually been in former Times; and at the ſame time, to fix in his Intereſt *Maximilian*, who was then at *Brunech*, a Town not far from *Trent*, he diſpatched away in all Haſte *Andrea di Burgo* of *Cremona*, *Cæſar's* Reſident at his Court, to his Maſter with very large Offers. Some of that Prince's Subjects of the County of *Tyrol* about this Time made themſelves Maſters of *Battiſten*, a very ſtrong Caſtle at the Entrance of the Vale of *Cadoro*. A. D. 1511.

THE Negotiations of Peace being now broken off, the King of *France* firſt deſigned that *Paliſſe*, who, after leaving Three Thouſand Foot in *Verona* to pacify *Cæſar* who was chagrined at his Departure, was returned with the reſt of the Troops into the Dutchy of *Milan*, ſhould make

A. D. 1511. new Levies of Foot, and afterwards uniting all the Forces make an Invaſion into *Romagna*; in hopes of making himſelf Maſter of all or Part of that Country before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, and then either purſue his Conqueſts as Opportunity offered, or fix the Seat of the War in the Territories of others till the Approach of Spring, when he would paſs into *Italy* in Perſon with all the Forces of his Kingdom, in hopes of ſhewing himſelf every where ſuperior to his Enemies. But while he amuſed himſelf with Schemes, his Reſolutions proceeded perhaps with more Slowneſs than was conſiſtent with the Exigencies of Affairs, and he was retarded by his natural Parſimony, which rendered him quite averſe to ſpending of Money, in making ſeveral neceſſary Proviſions, and particularly in ordering new Levies of Foot, as it was doubted whether the *Swiſs* would put themſelves in Motion. But ſince we have been obliged to mention the Nation of the *Swiſs* in ſeveral Places of this Hiſtory, it will be much to our Purpoſe, and in a manner neceſſary to give a particular Account of them.

Unſeaſonable Parſimony of the King of *France*.

THE

A. D. 1511.

THE *Swiſs* are the ſame People that the Antients called *Helvetians*, and are a Race of Men that inhabit the higheſt Mountains of *Jura*, called *San Claudio*, and thoſe of *Briga* and *S. Goddardo*. They are by Nature fierce and ruſtic, and on account of the Barrenneſs of their Country more addicted to Grazing than Tillage. They were formerly in Subjection to the Dukes of *Auſtria*, from whom they long ſince revolted, and are governed by themſelves, paying no Mark of Homage either to the Emperors, or to any other Princes. They are divided into thirteen States, which they call Cantons, each of them governed by its own proper Magiſtrates, Laws and Ordinances. They hold once a Year, or oftener if Occaſion requires, Conſultations on Affairs of univerſal Concern, aſſembling themſelves ſometimes in one Place, ſometimes in another, as the Deputies from each Canton ſhall chuſe. Theſe Aſſemblies, according to the Cuſtom of *Germany*, are called Diets, and debate upon Wars, Treaties of Peace, and Confederacies, on the Demands of thoſe who ſollicit

Account of the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1511. licit Leave to liſt Soldiers by public Decree, or Permiſſion for Volunteers to enter into foreign Service, and on Matters concerning the common Intereſt. When Soldiers are granted by public Decree, the Cantons chuſe among themſelves a Captain General over all, to whom they deliver the Standard with the Colours in the Name of the Public. This wild and unpoliſhed Nation has gained great Renown by its Union and glorious Exploits in War; for the *Swiſs*, by their natural Ferocity, and orderly Diſcipline, have not only conſtantly defended their own Country with great Valour, but highly ſignalized their martial Abilities in foreign Service. And their Praiſe would have been incomparably greater, if they had employed that Skill and Courage for the Service of their own Empire, which they ſpent abroad for Hire, and for enlarging the Dominions of others; and if they had directed their Views to more generous Ends than the Getting of Money, by the Love of which they have ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted, and have ſince loſt the Opportunity of being formidable to all *Italy*. For as they marched out of their Country

Country only as mercenary Soldiers, they acquired nothing to the Public by their Victories, being accuſtomed out of a greedy Deſire of Gain to require large Subſidies, and make new Demands of Pay, and ſo become almoſt intolerable in Armies, beſides being troubleſome and contumacious in their Behaviour and Obedience to thoſe that paid them. The Heads of the People abſtain not from receiving Gifts and Penſions from Princes, for eſpouſing and favouring their Cauſe in Debates; thus making the public Welfare ſubſervient to their private Intereſt, and becoming venal and open to Corruption, they diſagreed among themſelves, ſo that the Decrees of the Majority of the Cantons in the Diets not meeting with univerſal Approbation and Obedience, they came at laſt not many Years ago to an open Rupture and Civil War, to the vaſt Diminution of that Authority and Reſpect which they had every where acquired. Beneath theſe Cantons are ſituated certain Towns and Villages inhabited by a People, called *Valleſi* becauſe they dwell in Valleys. Theſe are much inferior to the other in Number, A. D. 1511.

public

A. D. 1511. public Influence, and Bravery, being univerſally reputed to come ſhort of the *Swiſs* in Fierceneſs. There is yet another Race of Men, of a lower Situation than the two former, called *Griſons**, who divide their Government into three Cantons, and are therefore called Lords of the three Leagues. Their principal Town is called *Coira*, and they are often confederated with the *Swiſs*, and accompany them to the Wars, being governed almoſt by the ſame Ordinances and Cuſtoms: Theſe People are ſuperior in Arms to the *Valleſi*, but not equal to the *Swiſs* either in Number or Valour.

THE *Swiſs* then, who at this Time were not quite ſo degenerate and corrupt as they became afterwards, being ſtimulated by the Pontiff, prepared for a Deſcent into the Dutchy of *Milan*. They would not confeſs that their Movement proceeded from the Conſent of all the Cantons, but gave out that the Cantons of *Schuitz* and *Friburgh* were the Authors of it; the firſt on

* Anciently *Rheti*.

on a Complaint that one of their Couriers in paſſing through the State of *Milan* had been murdered by ſome *French* Soldiers, and the other on pretence of having received ſome particular Injuries. Though the King of *France* was before well informed of the Deſigns of theſe Cantons, and in general of the whole Nation, he could not be induced to come to an Agreement with them, to which he was continually adviſed by his Council, and which thoſe who were his Friends among the *Swiſs* gave him Hopes of accompliſhing, being reſtrained by his uſual Difficulty of adding Twenty Thouſand Francs, which is about Ten Thouſand Ducats, to their former Penſions. Thus for the Sake of ſaving a trifling Sum, he refuſed that Friendſhip which he would many times afterwards have purchaſed with ineſtimable Treaſures, perſuading himſelf that either they would not march at all, or if they did that they could do him but little Prejudice, becauſe they uſed to make all their Expeditions and fight their Battles on foot, having neither Cavalry nor Artillery. Beſides, in that Seaſon, it being the Month of *November*, the

A. D. 1511. the Rivers were ſwelled, and the *Swiſs* had no Pontons or Boats, the Proviſions in the Dutchy of *Milan* were, by Orders of *Gaſton de Foix*, all removed into the Fortreſſes, the Frontier Towns were well garriſoned, and the Men at Arms in Readineſs to oppoſe the Enemy in the Plains. By theſe Impediments it was judged that if the *Swiſs* ſhould put themſelves on their March, they would be obliged to return within a few Days. They were not however terrified by theſe Difficulties from beginning a Deſcent to *Vareſe*, at which Place their Forces continually increaſed, having brought with them ſeven Field Pieces, and a great Number of large Harquebuſes carried on Horſes, and not wholly neglected to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions*. Their Coming was much the more dreaded becauſe the *French* Soldiers being grown more licentious than uſual, the People began to be heartily tired

Deſcent of the *Swiſs* into the Dutchy of *Milan*.

* The *Swiſs* before they deſcended to *Variſe* ſent a Meſſenger to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate that they were reſolved to drive the *French* out of *Italy*, and to ſuccour the *Venetians*, and therefore demanded a Supply of Proviſions, a Train of Artillery, and Five Hundred Horſe; with theſe Demands the Senate readily complied. *Bembo*.

tired of their Government; and the King reſtrained by Avarice had not conſented to raiſe a Body of Foot; and all his Men at Arms at that Time in *Italy* amounted to no more than Thirteen Hundred Lances effective Men, beſides Two Hundred of the Royal Guards: Nor were theſe all at hand to oppoſe the *Swiſs*, for Part of them were in Garriſon at *Verona* and *Breſcia*, and *Foix* had lately ſent Two Hundred Lances to *Bologna* on Advice of the Arrival of the Cardinal *de' Medici* and *Marco Coloma* at *Faenza*. And though they had no Number of Foot in their Service, it appeared neceſſary to ſend that Reinforcement to *Bologna* on account of the Diviſions in that City, and becauſe the Governor of the Caſtle of *Saſſiglione*, a Fortreſs on the Mountain of *Bologna*, had not long before voluntarily ſurrendered it up to the Legate. From *Vareſe* the *Swiſs* ſent a Trumpet to bid Defiance to the King's Lieutenant, who having but a few Men at Arms with him, becauſe he had not had Time to aſſemble them, nor above Two Thouſand Foot, not reſolving as yet on new Levies becauſe he would not diſpleaſe the King, was arrived

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. rived at *Affaron*, a Town thirteen Miles diſtant from *Milan*, not with an Intention to give Battle, but cloſely to attend the Motions of the Enemy, and to intercept their Proviſions, by which alone he could expect to ſtop them, there being no Rivers of difficult Paſſage, nor Towns that could be defended between *Vareſe* and *Milan*. From *Vareſe* the *Swiſs* proceeded to *Galera*, their Forces being increaſed to Ten Thouſand Men; and *Gaſton*, who followed *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, poſted himſelf at *Lignago*, four Miles from *Galera*. Theſe Motions ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the *Milaneſe*, that they liſted Men at their own Charge for the Defence of the City, and *Teodoro da Trivulzi* cauſed the Baſtions to be fortified, and, as if the Army muſt be obliged to retire into *Milan*, he ordered Eſplanades to be made on the Inſide round the Ramparts that encompaſs the Suburbs, that the Horſe might act conveniently. *Gaſton de Foix*, however, with Three Hundred Lances and Two Hundred of the King's Guards, and a good Train of Artillery, preſented himſelf before the Town of *Galera*. At his Appearance the *Swiſs* marched

marched out in Order of Battle; but not chuſing to fight in an open Place before they were more in Number, they immediately retired into the Town. Their Forces in the mean time were continually increaſing till they reſolved no longer to decline an Engagement, but marched forwards to *Buſti*, in which Town were quartered an Hundred Lances, who had much ado to ſave themſelves, with the Loſs of their Baggage and Part of their Horſes. At laſt the *French* ſtill retiring as the *Swiſs* advanced, took ſhelter within the Suburbs of *Milan*, but it was ſtill uncertain whether they intended to ſtay there for their Defence, or not, becauſe they gave out one Thing in their Speeches, and their Sollicitude in furniſhing the Cittadel with Proviſions ſhewed the contrary. The *Swiſs* afterwards approached within two Miles of the Suburbs, but the Fears they had excited were now much allayed by the continual Arrival of Men at Arms recalled to *Milan*, and Companies of Foot newly levied, and *Molard* was expected every Hour with the *Gaſcon*, and *Jacob* with the *German* Foot, one being ordered from *Ve-* A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. *rona*, and the other from *Carpi*. At this Time alſo were intercepted Letters from the *Swiſs* to their Lords, ſignifying that the *French* made but a weak Defence, and that they wondered at their receiving no Meſſage from the Pope; that they knew not what the *Venetian* Army was doing, but that they proceeded however according to Appointment. They were now increaſed to Sixteen Thouſand, and turned their March towards *Monza*, on which they made no Attempt, but inclining more towards the *Adda* put the *French* in Fear leſt they ſhould endeavour to paſs that River. Wherefore they laid a Bridge at *Caſciano*, with a Deſign to prevent their Paſſage by means of the commodious Situation of that Town and of the Bridge. While Things were in this Poſture arrived at *Milan*, having firſt obtained a Paſs, an Officer of the *Swiſs*, who demanded a Month's Pay for all the Foot, and aſſerted that, on the Receipt of it, their Troops ſhould return to their own Country; but he departed without Effect, becauſe the Sum they offered him was much too ſmall. The next Day he came again with much

much higher Demands, and though they made him greater Offers than they had done the Day before he returned to his Countrymen, and immediately after ſent back a Trumpet to ſignify that the *Swiſs* would come to no Agreement; and the next Day, contrary to all Expectation, they moved towards *Como*, and from thence returned into their own Country, leaving the Public at liberty to judge whether their Deſcent into the Dutchy of *Milan* was made with a Deſign to conquer it, or to paſs further; and for what Reaſon, before they laboured under any evident Difficulty, they marched back; or why, if they had reſolved to return, they had not accepted the Money that was offered them, eſpecially ſince it was their own Demand. Whatever might be the Reaſon, it is certain that while they were on their Return there came two Meſſages from the Pope and the *Venetians*, and it is reported that if they had arrived ſooner, the *Swiſs* would not have departed. And it is not doubted that if at that very Time when they entered the Dutchy of *Milan* the *Spaniards* had approached *Bologna*, the *French* being

A. D. 1511.

Swiſs return inglorious into their Country.

A. D. 1511. unprovided for making Reſiſtance in ſo many Places at once, their Affairs in *Italy* would ſuddenly have run to manifeſt Ruin beyond Recovery.

The King of *France* being now taught by Experience the Danger which he had not the Prudence to foreſee, had given Orders to *Foix*, before he had Notice of the Retreat of the *Swiſs*, to ſpare no Money for making his Peace with them; and not doubting but that, though his Differences were accommodated with that Nation, he ſhould be powerfully attacked by other Enemies, had commanded all the Men at Arms in *France*, except Two Hundred which he reſerved in *Picardy*, to paſs the Mountains, and ſent alſo a new Reinforcement of *Gaſcon* Foot on the ſame Expedition, and gave Directions to *Foix* to recruit his Army with *Italian* and *German* Foot. He ſollicited alſo the *Florentines* with preſſing Inſtances for their Aſſiſtance, which would be of great Service, becauſe the Seat of the War would be in the Neighbourhood of their Territories, which alſo lay very convenient for alarming the Eccleſiaſtic

King of *France* ſollicits Aſſiſtance from the *Florentines.*

ſiaſtic State, and for intercepting the Enemy's Convoys, if they made an Attack on *Bologna*; and he earneſtly inſiſted that they would openly with all their Forces concur with him in the War, becauſe the Neceſſity of the preſent Juncture required it, and not with a ſmall and limited auxiliary Force, or what only they were obliged to furniſh by the Terms of their Confederacy; repreſenting that they could never have a fairer Opportunity of obliging him, or performing a more ſignal Piece of Service, the Memory of which would perpetuate itſelf to all his Succeſſors; and that, if they well conſidered it, by undertaking his Defence and Aſſiſtance they defended and promoted their own Cauſe, ſince they could not be ignorant of the great Malice of the Pope againſt them, and how ardently the Catholic King deſired to eſtabliſh in their City a Government entirely dependent on himſelf. *A. D.* 1511.

BUT in *Florence* the People were of various Sentiments: Many blinded with the preſent Opportunity of ſaving their Money, had no Regard to Futurity. Others were more influenced by remembering that neither this King nor Diviſions in *Florence* on chuſing their Party in the W

A. D. 1511. *Charles* his Predeceſſor ever made any Acknowledgement or Requital of the Fidelity and Services of their Republic, and that *Lewis* had made them pay a great Price for his Engagement not to obſtruct them in the Recovery of *Piſa*. They were taught by this Example to put no Truſt in his Promiſes or Offers, and knew that they ſhould never find in him any Gratitude for whatever Services they could do him. It would therefore be an Act of no ſmall Raſhneſs to reſolve on entering into a War, by which, if it ſhould be unproſperous, they would be ſure to participate of more than their juſt Share in all its Calamities, and if it ſhould prove ſucceſsful they could not promiſe themſelves the leaſt Benefit. But, beſides theſe, the moſt conſiderable Party was of thoſe who out of Enmity or Ambition, or a Deſire of another Form of Government, oppoſed the Gonfaloniere; magnifying the Reaſons already given, and adding others, particularly that by ſtanding neuter they ſhould not excite the Hatred of any one of the Parties againſt themſelves, nor give either of the two Kings any juſt Cauſe to complain of them.

Reaſons for a Neutrality.

For

For they were not bound to give the King of *France* any further Aſſiſtance than the Three Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of his own States, with which they had already accommodated him. Nor could this be taken ill by the King of *Aragon*, who would think himſelf a ſufficient Gainer if they intermeddled no further in the Quarrel; but as thoſe were always moſt praiſed, and held in Eſteem, who kept their Faith, he would rather conceive Hopes from this Example that, whenever his Affairs required it, they would with the ſame Fidelity obſerve their Engagements with him, to which they were bound by the Treaty they had made both with him and the King of *France*. By this Conduct, if Peace ſhould happen to be made between the Princes, their City would be reſpected and preſerved by both Parties; if one obtained the Victory, he could not think himſelf injured, nor have any Cauſe of private Enmity, and therefore it would not be difficult to purchaſe his Friendſhip with the ſame Money that they muſt have ſpent in the War, and perhaps with a leſs Sum; a Method, by which

A. D. 1511.

A. D. 1511. their Anceſtors had oftener ſaved their Liberty, than by Force of Arms: Whereas by taking contrary Meaſures they muſt expect to be at a vaſt Expence without any Neceſſity, and for the Sake of others, as long as the War laſted, and if the hoſtile Party gained the Victory, the Liberty and Safety of their Country would remain expoſed to moſt manifeſt Danger.

Gonfaloniere for the *French* Party.

BUT the Gonfaloniere was of a different Opinion, and judged it the ſafeſt Way for the Republic to take up Arms for the King of *France*; and for that Reaſon he had before favoured the Council, and furniſhed the Pope with Matter for Reſentment, with a View that the City being provoked by him, or falling under Suſpicion, might be in a manner neceſſitated to take this Reſolution*. And at this Time he demonſtrated that the Counſel of thoſe who would have them ſtand idle Spectators of a

* The Gonfaloniere was a hearty Favourer of the *French* Party, becauſe by his perpetual Magiſtracy he had drawn upon himſelf the Envy of the Nobles in the Republic to a very high Degree, and had no other Way to ſupport himſelf in his Office than by the Friendſhip and Forces of the *French*. *Giovio* in his Life of *Alfonſo*.

a War carried on ſo near their Borders, and by Princes ſo much mightier than themſelves, could not but be very pernicious. A Neutrality, ſaid he, in the Wars of others was a commendable Meaſure, and the Occaſion of avoiding a Multitude of Troubles and Expences, when your Forces are not ſo weak that you have Reaſon to be afraid of the Victory of any of the contending Parties; becauſe, in ſuch a Caſe it not only brings you Security, but it often happens that the Straits into which the Warriors plunge themſelves furniſh you with the Means of enlarging your own State. That you have given no Offence, nor juſt Cauſe of Complaint to any Party, is no Foundation for Security; for the Inſolence of the Conqueror is very rarely, or, perhaps, never reſtrained by Juſtice or diſcreet Conſiderations. Great Princes think not themſelves leſs injured when they are refuſed what they deſire, but conceive an Indignation againſt every one that is not obſequious to their Will, and is not forward to venture his own Fortune on the ſame Bottom with theirs. It is Folly to imagine that the King of *France* will not think

A. D. 1511.

Reaſons againſt a Neutrality.

A. D. 1511. think himſelf injured when he ſhall find himſelf abandoned in ſo dangerous a Juncture, and ſhall ſee no Effects correſpondent to the Faith which he had in the *Florentines*, to what he had firmly promiſed himſelf from them, and to their own Proteſtations and Aſſurances ſo often repeated to him. It was ſtill more abſurd to ſuppoſe that if the Pope and the King of *Aragon* came off Conquerors, they would not let looſe their victorious Arms againſt their Republic, one out of an inſatiable Malice, and both of them from a paſſionate Deſire of eſtabliſhing a Government that ſhould be under their Direction, perſuading themſelves that the City, if left to its Liberty, would always have more Inclination to the *French* than to them; and, as an evident Proof of their Intention, had not the Pope, with the Catholic King's Approbation, appointed the Cardinal *de' Medici* his Legate to the Army? To perſiſt in a Neutrality therefore could mean no otherwiſe than to chuſe to become a Prey to the conquering Party; but by taking Part in the Quarrel, if they happened to eſpouſe the ſucceſsful Cauſe, the Conſequence would at leaſt

leaſt be their own Security and Preſervation; a Reward, ſince Affairs were reduced to ſo dangerous a Situation, of very great Importance; and if a Peace ſhould be made, they would obtain the better Conditions. It was ſuperfluous to diſpute what Party had the beſt Claim to their Aſſiſtance, becauſe none could doubt but that they ought rather to be directed by their antient Friendſhip, by which if the Republic had not been recompenſed or rewarded, it had at leaſt been ſeveral Times defended and preſerved, than to have recourſe to new Alliances, which would always be unfaithful, always ſuſpected. A. D. 1511.

THESE Reaſons brought by the Gonfaloniere were of no Effect, his Counſel being defeated chiefly by the Oppoſition of thoſe who would be highly chagrined that the King of *France* ſhould acknowledge himſelf indebted to the Endeavours of that Magiſtrate for his deſired Conjunction with the *Florentines*. In theſe Debates, one Party ever interrupting another, they neither came to any Reſolution to declare themſelves on either Side, nor yet wholly

to

A. D. 1511. to ſtand neuter. Hence frequently proceeded uncertain and fluctuating Counſels, and Reſolutions inconſiſtent with themſelves, by which they deſerved no Thanks, nor conferred any Obligation. On the contrary, in this wavering and irreſolute Diſpoſition, to the great Diſpleaſure of the King of *France*, they ſent Ambaſſador to the King of *Aragon Franceſco Guicciardini*, the Writer of this Hiſtory, and Doctor of Laws, at that time ſo young that he was by the Laws of his Country incapable of exerciſing any public Employment on Account of his Age*. His Inſtructions, however, were not of ſuch a Nature as to moderate in any meaſure the ill Diſpoſition of the Confederates.

Author ſent Ambaſſador to the King of *Aragon*.

Not long after the *Swiſs* were returned to their Houſes, the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtic Forces began to enter *Romagna*. At their Coming all the Towns which the Duke of *Ferrara* poſſeſſed on this Side the *Po*, except the Fort of *Genivolo*, ſurrendered at the bare Summons of a Trumpet. But

* He was then but Twenty-nine Years of Age, and it was never known that in *Florence* one ſo young was entruſted with ſo conſiderable a Charge. He went on this Embaſſy in *January* 1512. *Porcacchi*.

But becauſe all the Artillery was not yet arrived in *Romagna*, and the Viceroy had ſtopped at *Imola* waiting for it, it was thought fit, that the Time might not be waſted without Action, to ſend *Pietro Navarra*, General of the *Spaniſh* Infantry, to beſiege that Fort. But after he had begun to batter it with three Pieces of Cannon, finding that the Conqueſt would prove more difficult than he had imagined, becauſe it was well fortified, and ſtoutly defended by a Garriſon of an Hundred and Fifty Foot, he ordered two wooden Bridges to be made, that the Soldiers might the more eaſily paſs the Ditch, which was full of Water. As ſoon as the Bridges were finiſhed, which was on the third Day of the Siege, and the laſt of the Year 1511, a fierce Aſſault was given, and after long and valiant Fighting, the Beſiegers ſcaling the Walls at length maſtered the Place; the Garriſon was almoſt all cut to Pieces, with *Veſtitello* the Governor. *A. D.* 1511. Fort of *Genivolo* taken.

NAVARRA left Two Hundred Foot in this Fort, contrary to the Advice of *Giovanni Vitelli*, who ſaid the Walls were ſo weakened 1512.

A. D. 1512. weakened by the Battery of the Cannon, that they could be no more defended before they were repaired. But the General was hardly returned with his Troops to join the Viceroy, when the Duke of *Ferrara* arrived before the Place with nine Pieces of heavy Cannon, and attacked it with ſuch Fury, that this ſmall Fortreſs being ſhattered in many Parts, he took it by Storm the ſame Day, and put the Governor with all the Garriſon to the Sword, partly in fighting, and partly afterwards, to revenge the Death of his Men; the Duke himſelf was hit on the Head with a Stone, but by the Benefit of his Helmet received no Hurt.

Retaken by the Duke of *Ferrara*.

In the mean time the Eccleſiaſtic and *Spaniſh* Forces were all aſſembled at *Imola*; an Army formidable both for the Number and the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers. For the Troops of the King of *Aragon* were reported to conſiſt of no leſs than a Thouſand Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Jenneteers, and Eight Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, among which, beſides the Perſon of the Viceroy, were many Barons of the Kingdom

Number of the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtic Armies.

dom of *Naples*, of whom the moſt di- *A. D.* 1512.
ſtinguiſhed Perſonage for Reputation and Experience in War was *Fabritio Colonna*, who had the Title of Commander General, for *Proſpero Colonna*, diſdaining to be under the Command of the Viceroy, had refuſed to go on the Expedition. The Pope had Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horſe, and Eight Thouſand Foot, under the Command of *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, *Giovanni Vitelli*, *Malateſta Baglione*, Son of *Gian Pagolo*, *Rafaello de' Pazzi*, and others, all ſubject to the Orders of the Cardinal *de' Medici* the Legate, without any Captain General; for the Duke of *Termini*, choſen by the Pontiff, becauſe he was a Confidant of the King of *Aragon*, had died at *Civita Caſtellana* as he was coming to the Army; and the Duke of *Urbino*, who uſually commanded in that Quality, was abſent, either becauſe it ſo pleaſed the Pope, or becauſe he thought it beneath his Dignity to yield Obedience, eſpecially in the Towns of the Church, to the Viceroy as Captain General of the whole Confederate Army.

A. D. 1512.

WITH theſe Forces, which were abundantly provided with Artillery, almoſt all of it brought from the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was reſolved to lay Siege to *Bologna*, not becauſe they were ignorant that it was a very difficult Undertaking, ſince it was eaſy for the *French* to ſuccour the Place, but becauſe there was no other Enterprize in View but what was attended with greater Difficulties and Obſtructions; and to keep ſuch numerous and fine Troops unemployed, would too plainly argue Timidity; and ſuch were the preſſing Inſtances of the Pope, that whoever ſhould propoſe to his Conſideration the Difficulties, would only give him Occaſion to believe and lament that he already begun to ſee into the Artifices and Frauds of the *Spaniards*. The Viceroy therefore marched with the Army, and encamped between the River *Lidice* and *Bologna*, where after making the neceſſary Preparations for the Siege of the City, and turning the Courſe of the Waters in the Canals that are cut from the Rivers *Reno* and *Savano* to *Bologna*, he approached the Walls, extending

ing the greater Part of the Troops between the Mountain and the Road that leads from *Bologna* to *Romagna*, becauſe that Quarter lay moſt convenient for receiving his Convoys of Proviſions. Between the Bridge of *Reno* ſituated on the *Roman* Road that goes to *Lombardy*, and the Gate of *San Felice* on the ſame Road, *Fabritio Colonna* went to poſt himſelf with the Vanguard, conſiſting of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, for the more eaſily preventing the *French* from ſuccouring the Place on that Side. And that they might have the Command of the Mountains, they poſted Part of the Troops in the Monaſtery of *San Michele in Boſco* ſeated on an Eminence very near the City, and commanding it; they took Poſſeſſion alſo of the Church of *Santa Maria del Monte* ſituated above the Monaſtery. In *Bologna*, beſides the People that wore Arms, though perhaps more out of Cuſtom than a warlike Diſpoſition, were ſome Horſe and Foot of the *Bentivogli*, and *Foix* had ordered thither Two Thouſand *German* Foot and Two Hundred Lances under

A. D. 1512.

Bologna inveſted by the Confederate Army

A. D. 1512. *Odet de Foix* and *Yves d'Alegre*, famous Generals, the latter for his long Experience in War, and the other for his noble Blood, and the manifeſt Signs of Valour and Courage that appeared in his Conduct and Behaviour; there were alſo two other great Officers, *Fajetta*, and *Vicenzo* ſurnamed the *Great Devil*. The Beſieged, however, had more Dependence on the Succours promiſed by *Foix* than on their own Forces, conſidering the great Compaſs of the City, the Situation of Part of the Mountain by which they were much incommoded, and that there were no other Fortifications but ſuch as had been raiſed in Haſte againſt the preſent Danger. Many of the Nobility and of the common People were ſuſpected by the *Bentivogli*, and the *Spaniards*, of antient Renown (confirmed by their late Attack of the Fort of *Genivolo)* for their Agility and Dexterity in beſieging and ſtorming Towns, were in high Reputation. But their Spirits were revived by the extremely ſlow Proceedings of the Enemy, who ſtood nine Days idle about the Walls, without attempting any thing, but planting two Sakers and two Culverins

on

on the Monaſtery of *San Michele*, with which they fired at random, and without certain Aim, into the City, to annoy the Inhabitants and the Houſes. But they ſoon deſiſted, finding by Experience that they did little or no Damage to their Enemies, and only waſted their Ammunition to no Purpoſe. The Cauſe of this extraordinary Slowneſs was the Advice they had received, on the Day they firſt approached the Place, that *Foix* was advanced to *Finale*, and was aſſembling his Forces from all Parts; and it was reported, with great Appearance of Truth, that he was ordered to run all Hazards for the Preſervation of a City, the Loſs of which would be very detrimental to his Maſter's Intereſt and his own Reputation. Hence it came neceſſarily to be conſidered, not only on what Quarter it was moſt expedient to erect a Battery for the more eaſy and certain Reducing of the Place, but alſo how to prevent the *French* Succours from entering it. It was reſolved therefore, in the firſt Council of War, that *Fabritio Colonna*, being firſt well furniſhed with Proviſions, ſhould paſs about on the other Side of the

A. D. 1512.

Various Methods propoſed for conducting the Siege.

A. D. 1512 Town, and poſt himſelf on the Hill below *Santa Maria del Monte*; a Situation very convenient for oppoſing the Entrance of any Forces into *Bologna*, and yet not ſo far diſtant from the reſt of the Army, but that, if any Danger happened, the Troops might be timely relieved; and that at the ſame time they ſhould begin, from the Side where they were encamped, or from ſome Place not far diſtant, to batter the Town. The Authors of this Counſel alledged that it was not to be ſuppoſed that, ſince the Preſervation of all that the *French* poſſeſſed in *Italy* depended on preſerving their Army, *Foix* would make any Attempt, in the Execution of which he might be forced to come to a Battle; or that he ever had it in his Thoughts, even if he knew that he might do it with Security, to employ himſelf with his whole Army in *Bologna*, and by that means deprive himſelf of all Opportunities, whatever Neceſſity there might be, of ſuccouring the State of *Milan*; ſince he was not entirely ſecure of the Movements of the *Swiſs*, but was under greater Apprehenſions that it would be invaded by the *Venetian* Army, which

which was advanced to the Borders of the *Veroneſe*, and threatened to attack *Breſcia*, A. D. 1512. But the next Day theſe Meaſures were diſapproved by almoſt all thoſe who had conſented to them, on conſidering that they could not aſſure themſelves that the *French* Army would not come, and if it did come, that the Vanguard alone would be too weak to reſiſt its Force; and that a Reſolution ſupported by no other Foundation than what lay in the Power of the Enemy to alter or reverſe, was by no means to be approved. The Viceroy therefore embraced the Opinion of *Pietro Navarra*, who communicated it to none but him, and accordingly ordered the Army, after providing themſelves with Victuals for five Days, and leaving only a Garriſon in the Church of *San Michele*, to remove to the oppoſite Part of the City, whence he might prevent the Enemy's Army from entering it, and as the Town was not fortified on that Side, where no Attack was ever apprehended, he might undoubtedly reduce it in five Days. But as ſoon as this Reſolution was made public, there was none that did not openly condemn the Removal of the Army

A. D. 1512. to a Place entirely deſtitute of Proviſions, with which they were ſupplied only from *Romagna*, in conſequence of which, if they did not accompliſh their Deſign in five Days, the Army muſt infallibly be ſcattered or deſtroyed. And who, ſaid *Fabritio Colonna*, can abſolutely promiſe himſelf Succeſs in ſo ſhort a Time? Who would chuſe, in Reliance upon Hopes that are very fallacious in their own Nature, and ſubject to many Accidents, expoſe himſelf to ſo many Dangers? And who does not ſee that if we fail of our Enterpriſe within the aſſigned Time, and have in our Front *Bologna*, where is a numerous People, and many Soldiers, the *French* at our Backs, and the Peaſants our Enemies, it will be impracticable for us to retreat with famiſhed, diſordered and diſpirited Troops without Ruin and Deſtruction? Others propoſed to add more Foot to the Vanguard, which they would have to be poſted beyond *Bologna*, near the Foot of the Mountain, between the Gãtes of *Saragoza* and *San Felice*, within ſtrong Entrenchments, and to batter the Town on that Side, where it was not only weakeſt

weakeſt in Walls and Fortifications, but, by planting ſome Pieces of Cannon on the Mountain, they could take in Flank thoſe that defended the Breach while they gave the Aſſault. But this Advice was alſo rejected as inſignificant to prevent the Approach of the *French*, and alſo as dangerous, becauſe if this Detachment ſhould happen to be attacked, the Army, tho' it had the Command of the Mountains, could not come to its Relief under three Hours. A. D. 1512.

In this doubtful Situation, it being eaſier to reject, and with good Reaſons, the Plans propoſed by others, than to offer any new ones that would merit Approbation, the Generals at length agreed to attack the Place on that Side where the Army lay encamped; to which they were induced, among other Conſiderations, becauſe *Foix* by his long Delays had made them flatter themſelves that he would not come at all. They began therefore to level the Ground for bringing the Artillery near the Walls, and recalled the Vanguard to the Camp. But

A. D. 1512. ſoon after they had repeated Advices that the *French* Troops continually increaſed at *Finale*, and their Apprehenſions of the Coming of *Foix* returned, whence began to ariſe a Variety of new Opinions; for tho' all agreed that if he approached they muſt find ſome Means to attack him before he entered *Bologna*, yet many repreſented that, in ſuch a Caſe, the Removal of the Cannon planted before the Walls would occaſion many Difficulties and Hindrances to the Army, which, in any preſſing Emergency, might prove of moſt dangerous and pernicious Conſequence. Others freely remonſtrated that it was no leſs ſhameful than detrimental to remain ſo many Days before the Walls without Action, which at the ſame time raiſed the Spirits of the Enemies within the Place, and gave Time to their Friends without to relieve it: They ought not therefore to delay planting the Artillery, but in ſuch a Place as that it might conveniently be drawn off; and the Ground muſt be levelled to ſuch a Space, as that the Army might freely move together with the Cannon to oppoſe the *French*. The

Obſtacles to the Enterprize.

Legate

Legate very heartily eſpouſed the Opinion of thoſe who adviſed to begin with battering the Town; for he was tired with ſuch Delays, and was not without Suſpicion that they were occaſioned by the artful Proceeding of the *Spaniards* in purſuance of Orders from their King; and he was vexed to think that if he had immediately on his firſt Approach ſet about battering the City, he might perhaps by this time have made himſelf Maſter of it. He thought it not the beſt Way to go on multiplying Blunders, by lying before the City in the Poſture of Enemies, and at the ſame time ſhewing no Signs of having the Reſolution to attack it. And he was every Day ſtimulated by Expreſſes and Meſſages from the Pontiff, and knew no longer what to anſwer, nor what Excuſes to make, for *Julius* would no more be fed with vain Hopes and Promiſes. A. D. 1512.

THE Viceroy was piqued at this Uneaſineſs of the Cardinal, and highly reſented that a Perſon not trained up in Arms and military Exerciſes ſhould be ſollicitous to make himſelf the Author of pre-

A. D. 1512. precipitous Reſolutions, not conſidering that the Intereſts of the public in general were under Debate in the preſent Conſultations, and that it was impoſſible to proceed with ſuch Maturity but that greater ſtill was required: It was cuſtomary, he ſaid, for Pontiffs and Republics voluntarily to undertake Wars, but when the Charges and Vexations that attended them grew too heavy upon their Hands, they deſired to put an End to them as ſoon as poſſible; and that he ought to leave the Reſolutions to the Generals, who had the ſame Intentions as himſelf, but more Experience in War. At laſt *Pietro Navarra*, to whoſe Judgment the Viceroy paid great Deference, declared his Opinion that in an Affair of ſo great Moment they ought not to ſpend two or three Days in coming to a Reſolution, but continue to make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Siege of *Bologna*, and for coming to a Battle with the Enemy, in which Step they were to regulate their Proceedings by the Motions of the *French*. There did not appear for two Days any Grounds for taking a better Reſolution, for *Foix*, who

who had reduced *Cento*, *la Pieve*, and many Caſtles in the *Bologneſe*, continued ſtill encamped at *Finale*, intent on aſſembling his Troops, which being quartered in ſeveral Places, and the Foot which he had liſted marching but ſlowly, it required ſome Time to get them together. As there was then no apparent Reaſon for any longer deferring the Attack, a Battery was at laſt erected againſt the Walls, at the Diſtance of about Thirty Braces from the Gate of *San Stefano*, which leads to *Florence*, where the Wall in turning towards the Gate called *Caſtiglione*, which looks towards the Mountain, forms an Angle. At the ſame time *Pietro Navarra* was employed in conſtructing a Mine more towards the Gate of *Caſtiglione*, at that Part of the Wall within which ſtands a little Chapel called *Baracana*, with an Intent that, by giving the Aſſault in two Places at once, the Beſieged being divided might find it more difficult to make Reſiſtance than if they were united, and had only one Place to defend. Beſides, not to abandon all Care of oppoſing the *French*, the Vanguard was ordered

A. D. 1512.

Bologna beſieged.

A. D. 1512. dered to repoſſeſs themſelves of their former Poſt. The Cannon in one Day ruined little leſs than One Hundred Braces of Wall, and the Turret of the Gate was ſo ſhattered that it was rendered defenceleſs, and the Beſieged abandoned it; ſo that an Aſſault might have been conveniently given on that Part, had not the Beſiegers waited till the Mine which was begun ſhould be perfected and ready to ſpring, tho' the Raſhneſs of the Soldiers had almoſt hurried them on in a diſorderly Manner to ſtorm the Place on the ſame Day. For ſome *Spaniſh* Foot having mounted by a Ladder to a Hole made in the Turret, deſcended from thence into a little Houſe adjoining to the Wall on the Inſide, where was no Guard. This being perceived by others of their Comrades, they would almoſt all of them have hurried thither in tumultuous Diſorder, had not the Officers, alarmed by the Noiſe, ran in all Haſte and prevented them. And the Beſieged having pointed a Cannon againſt thoſe that were got within, deſtroyed Part of them, and the reſt fled out of a Place into which they had inconſiderately

conſiderately entered. While the Mine was preparing the Army was employed in making wooden Bridges, and providing Heaps of Faſcines for filling the Ditches, that the Foot might approach the Breaches as it were on plain Ground. They fired alſo with ſome Pieces of Cannon upon the Ruins of the Wall, to prevent the Beſieged from lodging themſelves there for defending them when the Aſſault ſhould be given. The *French* Officers ſeeing theſe Preparations, and finding that the People began to be intimidated, immediately ſent to demand Succours of *Foix*. That General the ſame Day ordered thither a Thouſand Foot, and the next Day ſent an Hundred and Eighty Lances; by which Proceeding he begat a firm Belief in the Enemy that he had reſolved to advance no farther; for it did not appear probable that, if he had any other Intention, he would have ſent off Part of his Forces: And indeed ſuch was his real Deſign; for judging the Reinforcements he had ſent ſufficient to defend *Bologna*, he did not chuſe to try the Fortune of a Battle without Neceſſity. The Mine at laſt being finiſhed, and

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. and the Army drawn up in Order for immediately giving the Aſſault, for proſecuting of which with greater Force the Vanguard was recalled, the ſame was ſprung, and with a horrible Noiſe and Violence lifted up the Chapel and the Wall in ſuch a Manner, that through the Space between the Ground and the Wall thus heaved up, thoſe that were without had an open View of the City within, and of the Soldiers as they ſtood prepared to defend it. But the Wall immediately ſinking down returned ſound and entire to the very ſame Place whence the Violence of the Powder had forced it, and with all its Parts as firmly connected as if it had never been moved. The Aſſault thus being impracticable on that Side, the Generals did not think fit to give it on the other Side alone. The *Bologneſe* aſcribed this Accident to a Miracle, thinking it impoſſible for a Wall to be exactly reunited to the ſame Foundations without the Interpoſition of the divine Power. Hence that Chapel came to be afterwards enlarged, and frequented with no ſmall Devotion by the People.

Strange Effect of a Mine.

THIS

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THIS Succeſs inclined *Foix*, who was now no longer under Apprehenſions for *Bologna*, to march towards *Breſcia*, becauſe he had received Intelligence that the *Venetian* Army was in Motion towards that City, for which he was under no ſmall Concern, as it was left but ill provided on account of the Danger of *Bologna*, and he was not without Suſpicions of a ſecret Conſpiracy among the Inhabitants of the Place. But the Intreaties of the Officers that were in *Bologna*, ſometimes repreſenting to him that the Danger of that City would be greater than it was before, if he marched off, ſometimes giving him Hopes that his Entrance into the Place would conſtrain the Enemy to raiſe the Siege, made him alter his Reſolution. In purſuance of this Change of Meaſures, though contrary to the Opinion of almoſt all the General Officers, he decamped from *Finale* towards the Cloſe of the Evening, and, marching with all his Army in Order of Battle through Snows and very ſharp Winds, the next Morning two Hours after Day-break he entered by the Gate of *San Felice* into *Bologna*,

A. D. 1512. *logna*, having with him Thirteen Hundred Lances, Six Thouſand *German* Foot, all which were placed in the Vanguard, and Eight Thouſand Foot between *French* and *Italians*. After *Foix* had entered *Bologna* a Council was held, in which it was propoſed to attack the Enemy the next Morning in their Camp, for which End the Soldiers were to ſally forth at three Gates, and the People to take the Way of the Mountain. They would have found them unappriſed of their Arrival, ſince it is certain that their Commanders had not, during that Day and the greateſt Part of the next, received the leaſt Notice of it. But *Yves d'Alegre* adviſed that the Troops, which were greatly fatigued by the Difficulties of the March, ſhould be allowed a Day to reſt themſelves, not imagining, neither he nor any one elſe, that ſo great an Army could, in the Day-time by the *Roman* Road, enter into a City which they were beſieging without their Knowledge. And perhaps they would have continued in Ignorance another Day, if they had not happened to take a *Greek* Stradiot, who with ſome other Horſe had ſallied forth to ſkirmiſh.

Bologna relieved by *Foix*.

ſkirmiſh. This Priſoner being aſked what was doing in *Bologna*, anſwered that they were not to expect the leaſt Light from him, for he was arrived there but the Day before with the *French* Army. On this he was interrogated with wonderful Care and Sollicitude by the General Officers, who finding him conſtant in his Anſwers believed what he ſaid to be Truth. A Reſolution therefore was taken to raiſe the Siege, it being concluded that, as the Soldiers ſuffered greatly by the Severity of the Seaſon, and from the Neighbourhood of the City, into which had entered ſuch an Army, it was not ſafe to continue in their preſent Station. On the next Night therefore, which followed the 19th Day of the Siege, they ſilently drew off their Cannon, and the Army was very early in the Morning on its March for *Imola*, the Troops taking their Way thro' the Ground they had levelled when they came, and that lay on each Side of the main Road thro' which they drew their Artillery; and, having placed the Flower of the Forces in the Rear, they marched off in great Security. For none of the Enemy ſallied out

A. D. 1512.

Siege of *Bologna* raiſed.

A. D. 1512. of *Bologna* but ſome *French* Horſe, who having plundered Part of the Ammunition and Proviſions, and by that means beginning to fall into Diſorder, were not without Loſs repulſed within the Gates by *Malateſta Baglione* who brought up the Rear of the Army.

THE Siege being thus raiſed, *Foix* leaving Three Hundred Lances and Four Thouſand Foot for the Security of *Bologna*, immediately ſet out with all poſſible Speed to relieve the Caſtle of *Breſcia*, for the City was fallen into the Hands of the *Venetians* on the Day preceding that on which he made his Entrance into *Bologna*. For *Andrea Gritti*, by Orders of the Senate, which had been ſtimulated by Count *Luigi Avogaro*, a Nobleman of *Breſcia*, and by almoſt all the Inhabitants of the Country, as alſo by the Hopes of an Inſurrection in that City by the Influence of that Nobleman, taking with him Three Hundred Men at Arms, Thirteen Hundred light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, paſſed the River *Adice* to *Albere*, a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Lignago*, and afterwards

afterwards forded the *Mincio* at the Mill on the bending of the River between *Goito* and *Valeggio*; from whence he proceeded to *Montechiaro*, and quartered that Night at *Caſtagnetolo*, a Village five Miles from *Breſcia*, whence he ordered his light Horſe to make a ſudden Excurſion up to the very Gates. Count *Luigi*, while all the Country were crying up the Name of *San Marco*, approached a Gate with Eight Hundred Men of the Valleys of *Eutropia* and *Sabia*, where he had excited an Inſurrection, and ordered his Son with another Party to approach the Gates on the other Side of the City. But *Andrea Gritti* not being received within the Walls as he expected, and none of the Signals being made which had been appointed, and underſtanding alſo that the City was diligently guarded in all Parts, thought it beſt to proceed no farther; and in the mean time the Son of *Avogaro* was attacked by a Party of the Garriſon, and taken Priſoner. *Gritti* retired to *Montagnana*, whence he had firſt ſet out, leaving a ſufficient Guard at the Bridge which he had laid over the *Adice*. But in a few Days being recalled, he re- *A. D.* 1512.

A. D. 1512. paſſed the *Adice* with two Pieces of Cannon and four Falconets, and poſted himſelf at *Caſtagnetolo*, Count *Luigi* with a vaſt Number of Peaſants of thoſe Valleys approaching at the ſame time within a Mile of *Breſcia*. And though there was no Appearance from the City of any thing likely to favour their Deſign, yet *Gritti* being invited by a greater Concourſe of People than he was the Time before, reſolved to make an Attempt to force the Town. Approaching therefore the Walls with all the Peaſants, he attacked them in three different Places at once; and though he was repulſed at the Gate of the Tower, he had better Succeſs at the Gate of the *Pilcs* where *Avogaro* commanded, and at the Gate called the *Garzula*, where the Soldiers, led by *Baldaſſarre di Scipione*, entered, as ſome ſay, by the Iron Grate through which the River, which is alſo called *Garzula*, enters the Town*. The *French* reſiſted as well as they could, but ſeeing that the Enemies were got into the City, and that the *Breſcians*, who had before been

City of *Breſcia* taken by the *Venetians*.

* Or, in other Words, the Soldiers entered *Breſcia* by the common Shore of the River *Garzula*, as *Giovio* expreſſes it.

been prohibited by them from taking Arms, and had ſtood very quiet, began to ſtir in their Favour, they retired with the Sieur *de Lude*, the Governor, into the Caſtle, with the Loſs of their Horſes and Baggage. In the Tumult that Part which is called the little City, being ſeparated from the reſt of the City, and almoſt wholly inhabited by *Ghibellines*, was plundered, but the Houſes of the *Guelfs* were ſpared. *A. D.* 1512.

THE Acquiſition of *Breſcia* was ſoon followed by the Surrender of *Bergamo*, by means of ſome of the Citizens, except the two Caſtles, one of which ſtands in the Middle of the City, the other half a Mile diſtant from it. The Towns of *Orci Vecchi*, *Orci Nuovi*, *Ponte Vico*, and many others in the circumjacent Country followed the Example of *Bergamo*; and the *Venetians* would, perhaps, have made a greater Progreſs, or at leaſt have better eſtabliſhed their Acquiſitions, had they been as careful at *Venice*, where the Rejoicings were incredible, to ſend Troops and Artillery for reducing the Caſtle of *Breſcia*, which was in no Condition to

A. D. 1512. make much Reſiſtance, as they were to create and ſend Magiſtrates to govern the recovered Towns. But the Damage which they received by their Negligence, was in proportion to the vaſt Diligence and Expedition of M. *de Foix*. That General having paſſed the *Po* at *Stellata* detached an Hundred and Fifty Lances and Five Hundred *French* Foot for the Security of *Ferrara*; after which he croſſed the *Mincio* at the Bridge of the Mill, ſending, while he was paſſing, to aſk Leave of the Marquis of *Mantoua* to paſs, either becauſe by the Suddenneſs of the Demand he would leave no Room for Conſultation, or that the News of his March might be the longer in reaching the *Venetians*. From thence he arrived the next Day at *Nugara* in the *Veroneſe*, and the Day following at *Ponte Peſere* and at *Treville* three Miles from *la Scala*, where receiving Intelligence that *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who had eſcorted ſome *Venetian* Troops and Artillery to *Breſcia*, was arrived from *Caſtel Franco* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horſe, and Twelve Hundred Foot, to take up his Quarters at

Iſola

Iſola della Scala, he immediately ſet out in Haſte to attack them with Three Hundred Lances and Seven Hundred Archers, the reſt of the Army, which could not keep Pace with them, being ordered to follow; but finding that the Enemy had left the Place an Hour before, he followed them with the ſame Expedition. *Gian Pagolo* had received Advice that *Bernardino dal Montone*, who was appointed to guard the Bridge at *Albere*, had, on Notice of the Approach of the *French*, broken it down for fear of being incloſed by them and by the *Germans* that were in *Verona*, whither *Cæſar* (who was freed from the Charge of *Friuli*, which, except *Gradiſca*, was all returned under the Dominion of the *Venetians*) had a little before ſent Three Thouſand Foot, who had been employed in that Province. *Gian Pagolo* therefore would have gone to *Breſcia*, had he not been acquainted that a little below *Verona* the River was fordable. Here, as he was on his March in order to paſs it, he diſcovered at a good Diſtance *Foix*, who by his incredible Expedition had prevented the Fame of his Approach, and imagining A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. that he ſaw no other than Part of the Troops that were in *Verona*, he drew up his Men in Order of Battle, and with a firm Reſolution expected the Enemy at the Tower of *Magnanino*, near the *Adice*, and at a ſmall Diſtance from the Tower of *la Scala*. The firſt Encounter with Lances was very fierce on both Sides, after which they betook themſelves to their other Weapons, and fought valiantly for above an Hour, but ſtill more and more to the Diſadvantage of the *Venetians*, becauſe their Enemies were continually reinforced by Parties from their Army that had remained behind; they rallied however ſeveral Times after they had been broken and put into Diſorder. At length being overpowered by Numbers, they were totally routed and put to Flight, and Night coming on purſued to the River, which *Gian Pagolo* ſafely paſſed, but many of his Men were drowned. Of the *Venetians* were killed or taken about Ninety Men at Arms, among whom *Guido Rangone* and *Baldaſſarre Signorello da Perugia* remained Priſoners; the Foot were ſcattered, and two Falconets, which were all they had, were

Venetians defeated by *Gaſton de Foix.*

were taken; the Loſs of the *French* was very inconſiderable. The next Day they met *Meleagro da Forli* with ſome *Venetian* light Horſe, who were eaſily put to Flight, and *Melcagro* was taken Priſoner. A. D. 1512.

Foix loſt no Time, but on the ninth Day after he had quitted *Bologna*, took Poſt with his Vanguard in the Suburbs of *Breſcia*, two Bowſhots from the Gate of *Torre Lunga*; the reſt of his Army kept more behind along the Road that leads to *Peſchiera*. As ſoon as he was poſted, without giving himſelf Time to breathe, he ſent Part of his Foot to attack the Monaſtery of *San Fridiano*, which is ſeated half way up the Hill under which he had his Quarters, and was guarded by a Number of Peaſants of the Valley of *Eutropia*. The Soldiers mounted the Hill at ſeveral Places, and being favoured by a great Shower of Rain that prevented the Firing of the Cannon planted on the Monaſtery, they broke in and put Part of the Garriſon to the Sword. The next Day *Foix* ſent a Trumpet to demand the Surrender of the City, on condition of Safety to the Perſons and

A. D. 1512. and Effects of all that were in it, except the *Venetians*. But a reſolute Anſwer being returned in the Preſence of *Andrea Gritti*, the General led about his Army to the other Part of the City, that he might be near the Caſtle, and poſted himſelf in the Suburb of the Gate called *San Gianni*. The next Morning, as ſoon as it was Day, he choſe out of all the Army above Four Hundred Men at Arms, clad all in white Armour, and diſmounted, and Six Thouſand Foot, Part *Gaſcons* Part *Germans*; then, putting himſelf alſo on foot, he mounted at the Side towards the Gate of the *Piles*, and entered the firſt Precinct of the Caſtle without Oppoſition. Here, after they had reſted and refreſhed themſelves awhile, he animated them in a ſhort Speech to deſcend undauntedly into that very rich and opulent City, where the Honour and the Plunder would without Compariſon be greater than the Fatigue and the Danger. They were to encounter, he ſaid, with *Venetian* Soldiers, who were manifeſtly inferior to them both in Number and Valour; for no Account muſt be made of a Multitude of People unexperienced in War, and

Foix's animating Words to his Soldiers.

and already meditating on Means to eſcape without hazarding their Lives; but it was rather to be expected that by their Cowardice and Indiſcretion they would be the Cauſe of throwing all the reſt into Diſorder and Confuſion. Laſtly, he intreated them, as Men ſelected by himſelf for the braveſt out of ſo flouriſhing an Army, to do nothing that might bring Shame upon themſelves, or upon his Judgment of them; and to conſider how highly diſhonourable and diſgraceful it would be for Men who made a Profeſſion of entering by Force into an Enemy's City againſt Soldiers, againſt Cannon, and againſt Walls and Fortifications, to be miſerably diſappointed of their Hopes on the preſent Occaſion, when the Entrance lay open, and they would meet with no Oppoſition but only from Men. Immediately upon theſe Words he began to move from the Caſtle, his Foot marching before the Men at Arms. At going out they found ſome of the Enemy's Infantry provided with Artillery, who endeavoured to ſtop their Paſſage, but were eaſily forced to retire; after which they reſolutely deſcended by that Quarter into the

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A. D. 1512. the Square before the Palace of the General, which they call *il Burletto*, where the Troops of the *Venetians* were drawn up in close Order, and expected them with great Intrepidity. They fell immediately to close Fight, and the Battle was for a long Time very furious and terrible, one Party fighting for Self-preservation, the other not only for Glory, but for the Plunder of a City full of Riches, the Generals also combating with no less Ardor and Fierceness than the common Soldiers, and *Foix* in particular giving eminent Proofs of his fierce Courage and Valour. At last the *Venetian* Troops were driven out of the Square after a wonderful Defence, and the Conquerors dividing themselves into two Parties, one entered by the City, the other by the little City, but were stoutly resisted by the Soldiers and People in almost every Street and Corner. The *French* were however victorious every where, and pushed their Enemies before them, none falling to plunder till they were in possession of the whole Town, for such were the Orders of the General before they began the Attack, and whoever transgressed them

City regained by *Foix* and sacked.

them was immediately killed by his Comrades. In theſe Encounters the *French* loſt a great Number of Foot, and not a few of their Men at Arms; but of their Enemies were killed about Eight Thouſand Men, partly of the People, partly *Venetian* Soldiers, the Number of whom before the Action was Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horſe, and Eight Thouſand Foot; among theſe *Federigo Contareno*, Proveditor of the light Horſe, was killed by a Muſket Shot in the Square, and all the reſt were taken, except Two Hundred Stradiotti, who eſcaped by a Poſtern near the Gate of *San Nazzaro*, but met with little better Fortune than their Fellows, for falling among a Part of the *French* Army that had remained without the Town, they were almoſt all killed or taken. Theſe *Frenchmen* after this entered the Town without any Difficulty by the ſame Gate, and fell to plunder with the reſt, thus reaping the Fruits of the Labours and Dangers of their Companions. There remained Priſoners *Andrea Gritti*, *Antonio Juſtiniano*, ſent by the Senate to be Governor of that City, *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* and his Son, the

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A. D. 1512. the Chevalier *della Volpe*, *Baldaſſarre di Scipione*, a Son of *Antonio de' Pii*, Count *Luigi Avogaro* with one of his Sons, and *Domenico Buſeco* General of the Stradiotti. In the Pillage the Honour of the Nunneries was preſerved inviolate by the Orders of *Foix*, but the Goods and the Perſons that had fled thither for Refuge became a Prey to the Officers. Count *Luigi* was beheaded in the open Square, *Foix* himſelf being preſent, and ſatiating his Eyes with the Spectacle; and his two Sons, though for the preſent reprieved, not long after ſuffered the ſame Puniſhment. Thus fell *Breſcia* into this miſerable Calamity and Deſtruction by the Hands of the *French*, from whom its Inhabitants boaſt their Deſcent; and ſuch was the ſad Fate of that City which for Nobleneſs and Dignity was not inferior to any City in *Lombardy*, but in Riches, excepting *Milan*, ſuperior to them all. For ſeven Days together was this unhappy Place left expoſed to the Avarice, Luſt, and Cruelty of the Soldiers, who made havock of all Things ſacred and profane, while the Lives and Honours of the Citizens as well as their Goods

Goods lay at their Mercy and Diſcretion. By theſe Exploits M. *de Foix* acquired vaſt Renown throughout Chriſtendom, as a Commander deſerving the higheſt Encomiums for having, by his Valour and Expedition, in the Space of fifteen Days, conſtrained the Eccleſiaſtic and *Spaniſh* Army to raiſe the Siege of *Bologna*, defeated in Battle *Gian Pagolo Baglione* with Part of the *Venetian* Forces, and recovered *Breſcia* with ſuch a mighty Slaughter of the Soldiers and Inhabitants; ſo that it was the Opinion of all who were Judges that *Italy* had not, for ſeveral Ages, ſeen ſuch a rapid Train of Succeſs in military Operations. *A. D.* 1512.

AFTER the Recovery of *Breſcia* and the other loſt Towns, among which *Bergamo*, having revolted only at the Inſtigation of a few Perſons, had, before *Foix* entered *Breſcia*, publicly recalled the *French*, the General ſpent ſome Time in ſettling the Affairs of thoſe Quarters, and in repoſing and reducing to Order the Troops, which were greatly fatigued by their long and laborious Services, and fallen into Diſorder,

A. D. 1512. Diſorder, ſome of them in ſecuring, others in ſharing the Plunder. After this he reſolved, in Obedience to the King's Orders, to march againſt the Army of the League, which, after retiring from the Walls of *Bologna*, had taken up their Quarters in the *Bologneſe*. The King was obliged to take this Step for ſeveral very important Reaſons, which laid him under a Neceſſity of entring on new Meaſures for the Security of his own States. For it began manifeſtly to appear that he could not avoid a War with the King of *England*, becauſe though that Prince had at firſt in plain Words denied, and afterwards in dubious Expreſſions diſſembled his Deſign, yet his Actions, which by no means agreed with his Speeches, could not but diſcover his real Intentions, ſince there were Advices from *Rome* that the Inſtrument by which that King acceded to the League was at laſt arrived there. It was known that in *England* Preparations were making of Men and Ships, and a Fleet was equipping in *Spain* to be ſent to *England*, and the Minds of the *Engliſh* in general were very much ſet on carrying on a War in *France*.

France. It happened alſo very ſeaſonably that the Pope's Galeas was arrived, laden with *Greek* Wines, Cheeſe and Sweetmeats, as a Preſent from his Holineſs to the King and ſeveral of the Lords and Prelates, and received by all with wonderful Demonſtrations of Joy, the whole Populace, which is wont to be affected with gaudy Vanities no leſs than with Things of Importance, crouding with high Satisfaction to the delightful Sight, and boaſting that they ſaw, what was never before ſeen in their Iſland, a Ship under the Pontifical Flag. At laſt the Biſhop of *Moravia*, who had ſo long carried on a Treaty between the Pope and the King of *France*, induced either by Conſcience or by a Deſire of the Cardinalſhip, made, before a Parliament of the whole Kingdom, a full Declaration, and gave ample Teſtimonies of the Juſtice of the Pope's Cauſe. It was reſolved then by that Aſſembly to ſend Prelates to repreſent that Kingdom in the *Lateran* Council; and the King, at the Inſtances of the Pope's Ambaſſadors, gave Orders for the *French* Ambaſſador to depart, ſince it was not convenient that near

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A. D. 1512. the Perſon of a King, and in a Kingdom moſt devoted to the Church, ſhould be ſeen the Repreſentative of a Prince who ſo openly perſecuted the Apoſtolic See. And now it came to be diſcovered that, by a private Agreement, the King of *England* had engaged to fit out a Fleet for infeſting the maritime Parts of *Normandy* and *Bretany*, and to ſend into *Spain* Eight Thouſand Foot, for making War, in Conjunction with the Forces of the King of *Aragon*, in the Dutchy of *Guyenne*. The King of *France* was extremely uneaſy under theſe Apprehenſions, becauſe the Name of the *Engliſh* was dreadful to his Subjects from the Memory of their old Wars, and he was ſenſible that the Danger muſt be greater from the Conjunction of their Arms with thoſe of the *Spaniards*, and the more to be apprehended becauſe he had ſent all his Men at Arms, except Two Hundred Lances, into *Italy*. If he ſhould recall them, either in whole or in part, his beloved Dutchy of *Milan* would be expoſed to manifeſt Danger; and though he had newly increaſed his ſtanding Troops with Eight Hundred Lances, yet with what Confidence could he

War breaks out between *England* and *France*.

he, in ſo dangerous a Juncture, rely on Men unexperienced in War, and but juſt taken into his Service? *A. D.* 1512.

His Fears were further aggravated by his Jealouſy, which every Day increaſed, of *Cæſar*'s detaching himſelf from his Alliance; for though *Andrea de Burgo*, who had been ſent to that Prince with mighty Expectations, was returned, and had made his Report that *Cæſar* was diſpoſed to obſerve the Confederacy, yet he offered very hard Conditions, intermixed with various Complaints. For he demanded Security for his being put in Poſſeſſion of all that belonged to him by the Articles of *Cambray*, proteſting he could no longer truſt to bare Promiſes, ſince he knew, from the Beginning and ever afterwards, that the King would be very uneaſy at his Acquiſition of *Padoua*; and that to waſte and exhauſt, and to harraſs him with perpetual Labours and Difficulties, he had freely ſpent Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats yearly, becauſe he knew that it would preſs harder upon his Neceſſities to be obliged at the ſame time to ſpend Fifty *Cæſar*'s Demands of the King of *France*.

A. D. 1512. Thouſand: That he had refuſed the laſt Year to ſuffer *Trivulzio* to enter into his Service, becauſe he was a General qualified by his Affection to the Cauſe, and by military Knowledge would have put a ſpeedy End to the War. He demanded alſo the King's ſecond Daughter, not yet two Years old, to be eſpouſed to his Grandſon with *Burgundy* in Dowry, and that ſhe ſhould immediately be delivered to him: That the Cauſes of *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, and the Council ſhould be referred to his ſole Determination: That the *French* Army ſhould not advance towards *Rome*; and proteſted alſo that he could by no means ſuffer the King to enlarge his Dominions in any Part of *Italy*. Theſe Conditions, though very grievous and almoſt intolerable in themſelves, were ſtill rendered much harder by knowing that there was no Security that they would not be altered as Occaſion ſerved, or according to the fickle Cuſtom of that Prince. But the Iniquity of the Conditions propoſed was rather a manifeſt Argument that, having reſolved to break off his Alliance with the King of *France*, he was willing to find ſome plauſible Pre-

King of *France* perplex'd.

tence.

tence for putting it in Execution; eſpecially ſince ſeveral Marks of an evil Diſpoſition might be diſcerned, not only in his Words but alſo in his Actions. For no Proxies, as had been ſo often promiſed, were ſent with *Burgo*, in order to repair to the *Piſan* Council; on the contrary, tho' the Convocation of Prelates in *Auſburg* had at laſt publicly decreed that the *Piſan* Council was ſchiſmatic and deteſtable; they had added this moderate Clauſe that they were ready to change their Opinion on the Evidence of more effectual Reaſons to the contrary And yet the King of *France*, notwithſtanding this Uſage, at a Time when he had moſt Occaſion to unite all his Forces, was conſtrained, at the Requeſt of *Cæſar*, to keep Two Hundred Lances and Three Thouſand Foot in *Verona*, and a Thouſand Foot to garriſon *Lignago*. Beſides, the King was under great Anxiety of Mind for fear of the *Swiſs*; for though he was permitted to ſend the Bailif of *Amiens* to their Diet with a moſt ample Commiſſion, having prudently reſolved (if thoſe Reſolutions can be called prudent which are taken after the Oppor- A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. tunities in which they can be of any Service are paſt) to ſpare no Sums of Money for regaining their Friendſhip, yet the very ardent Hatred of the common People, and the efficacious Perſuaſions of the Cardinal of *Sion*, prevailing over the Authority of thoſe who had from Diet to Diet prevented them from taking any Reſolution contrary to the King's Intereſt, it was perceived that they were inclined to grant a Body of Six Thouſand Foot for the Service of the Confederates, who had demanded them in order to oppoſe them to the firm and well diſciplined Battalions of the *German* Infantry. Under all theſe Apprehenſions the King found himſelf beſides entirely deprived of all Hopes of an Agreement, tho' the Cardinal of *Nantz*, and the Cardinal of *Strigonia*, a very powerful Prelate of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, had never omitted treating about it during the Heat of the War. For the Pope peremptorily anſwered that he would hearken to no Terms till the *Piſan* Conventicle was aboliſhed, and the Church put in Poſſeſſion of her Cities of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*. Nor did he ſhew leſs Severity in his Actions,

Actions, for he had lately degraded many *French* Prelates who had aſſiſted at that Council, and *Filippo Decio*, one of the moſt excellent Lawyers of that Age, becauſe he had written and diſputed for the Juſtice of that Cauſe, and had attended the Cardinals as their Counſellor for the Direction of their Proceedings according to Law. Nor had the King in the midſt of thoſe Difficulties and Dangers that threatened him from ſo many Quarters, any firm or ſure Support in any Part of *Italy*, For the States of *Ferrara* and *Bologna* had been and ſtill were vexatious and expenſive to him; and from the *Florentines*, with whom he had renewed his Inſtances that they would join with him in attacking *Romagna*, he could draw none but general Anſwers; nay, he had ſome Suſpicion of their Inclinations, becauſe an Ambaſſador from the Viceroy of *Naples* conſtantly reſided at *Florence*, and much more becauſe they had ſent an Ambaſſador to the Catholic King, and no longer communicated their Affairs to him as uſual; but moſt of all becauſe when he had ſollicited them to prolong the League, which

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A. D. 1512. would expire within a few Months, without demanding any Money or any other burdenſome Obligation from them, they went on temporiſing, that they might be at Liberty to chuſe what Party they ſhould at that Time judge beſt ſuited to their Intereſt. The Pope willing to cheriſh this Diſpoſition in the *Florentines*, that he might not, by an Exceſs of Severity, induce them to employ their Arms in favour of the King of *France*, granted them, without their demanding it in the Name of the Public, Abſolution from their Cenſures, and ſent *Giovanni Gozzadini*, a *Bologneſe*, and one of the Clerks of the Apoſtolic Chamber, as his Nuncio, to *Florence*, with gracious Offers, endeavouring by all means to alleviate the Suſpicions they had conceived of him.

THE King then finding himſelf alone againſt ſo many either declared Enemies or ready to declare againſt him, and knowing that it would be very difficult for him to withſtand their united Attacks, commanded *Foix* to march with all Speed againſt the Enemy's Army, promiſing himſelf

himſelf the Victory from the Superiority of his Forces. The General was to make no Scruple of attacking *Rome* and the Pontiff; for if he ſucceeded the King thought he might look upon himſelf as delivered out of his great Dangers. And the better to juſtify, and leſſen the Scandal of ſuch an Enterpriſe, it was to be undertaken by the Authority of the *Piſan* Council, which was to depute a Legate to attend the Army, and receive the conquered Towns in their Name. *Foix* therefore, purſuant to his Orders, marched from *Breſcia*, and arrived at *Finale*, where he halted ſome Days to make a Magazine of Proviſions, which were brought from *Lombardy*, and to aſſemble all the Forces which the King had in *Italy* except the neceſſary Garriſons, and alſo on account of the very rainy Seaſon. From hence he proceeded to *San Giorgio* in the *Bologneſe*, where he received ſome new Reinforcements from *France*, conſiſting of a Thouſand *Gaſcon* Foot, a Thouſand Volunteers, and a Thouſand *Picards*; theſe laſt were choice Troops, and in great Eſteem among the *French*; ſo that the real Number of the Troops was Five Thouſand A. D. 1512.

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Number of the *French* Army.

Thouſand *German* Foot, Five Thouſand *Gaſcons*, and Eight Thouſand *Italians* and *French*, and Sixteen Thouſand Lances including Two Hundred Gentlemen*. This Army was to be joined by the Duke of *Ferrara* with an Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horſe, and a numerous Train of very good Artillery, for *Foix* had left his own at *Finale*, being prevented from conveying it by Land by the Difficulty of the Roads. At the ſame time was on his Way to the Army the Cardinal of *San Severino*, who was appointed by the Council Legate of *Bologna*; a Cardinal of a fierce and daring Spirit, and more inclined to the Exerciſe of Arms than to ſacerdotal Offices and Contemplations. All Things being thus ſettled, *Foix* directed his March towards the Enemy, with an eager Deſire of coming to a Battle, to which he was more and more ſtimulated by the Orders of his King, as well as by the Ferocity of his natural Temper, and by a Thirſt after Glory, which was the more inflamed by his late happy Succeſſes. He was not however ſo

* Of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

ſo far tranſported with this Ardor, as to have it in his Thoughts to attack the Enemy raſhly and at a Diſadvantage, but to approach their Camp, and to try whether they were willing to venture an Engagement in a Place where the Situation would give them no Advantage over him, or elſe by intercepting their Convoys of Proviſions to reduce them to a Neceſſity of fighting. But far different were the Deſigns of the Enemy, whoſe Army, after the Duke of *Urbino*'s Regiment had left them under Pretence of ſome Difference that aroſe, was reported to conſiſt of Fourteen Hundred Men at Arms, a Thouſand light Horſe, and Seven Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, beſides Three Thouſand *Italians* newly levied. For imagining the *French*, beſides their Superiority in Number, to have a more valiant Cavalry, they did not think it ſafe to hazard a Battle on equal Ground, at leaſt before the Arrival of Six Thouſand *Swiſs*, whom the Cantons had lately conſented to grant, and the Cardinal of *Sion* and twelve Agents of that Nation were gone to *Venice* to treat about liſting them at the common Expence of the

A. D. 1512.

Number of the Confederate Army

A. D. 1512 the Pope and the *Venetians*. Theſe Reaſons were enforced by the King of *Aragon*, who, both by Letters and proper Perſons, ſignified his Reſolution that they ſhould avoid as much as poſſible a Battle; for his Hopes principally depended on what the *French* King chiefly dreaded, which was, to ſpin out the Time by ſtanding on the Defenſive till the King of *England* and himſelf ſhould begin a War in *France*, which would oblige that King to recall all or the greater Part of his Forces beyond the Mountains, and conſequently the War in *Italy* would be finiſhed without Blood or Danger. For the ſame Reaſon he would even at the Beginning have prevented the Attempt on *Bologna*, had he not been fatigued by the Inſtances and vexatious Complaints of the Pope.

Proceedings of the *French* and Confederate Armies.

THE Viceroy therefore and the other Generals had reſolved always to encamp near the *French* Army for the Defence of the Cities of *Romagna*, and to prevent the Enemy from opening themſelves a Way for marching to *Rome*; and continually to poſt themſelves in places ſo ſtrong, either by

by Situation or by having a large Town behind them, that they could not be attacked but with very great Diſadvantage, thinking it no Diſgrace to retire as often as there ſhould be Occaſion; but judging, as military Men ought, that they were not to be attentive to Reports or outward Appearances, but principally to obtain the Victory, which would undoubtedly be followed by Reputation, Glory, and Praiſes from the Public. Purſuant to this Reſolution, on the Day that the *French* encamped at *Caſtel Guelfo* and *Medicina*, the Confederates, who were encamped near theſe Places, retired under the Walls of *Imola*. The next Day the *French* advanced within a Mile and half of *Imola*, but the Enemies keeping their Place in Order of Battle, not chuſing to attack them under ſo great Diſadvantage, they paſſed more forwards, and their Vanguard encamped at *Bubano*, a Caſtle four Miles diſtant from *Imola*, and the other Diviſions of their Army at *Mordano* and *Bagnara*, Towns a little above a Mile diſtant from one another, chuſing to encamp in the main Road for the Convenience of Proviſions,

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A. D. 1512. viſions, which were ſafely conveyed from the River *Po*, becauſe *Lugo*, *Bagnacavallo*, and the circumjacent Towns had been abandoned by the *Spaniards* as ſoon as *Foix* entered the *Bologneſe*, and were returned under Obedience to the Duke of *Ferrara**. On the Day following the *Spaniards* marched to *Caſtel Bologneſe*, leaving a ſufficient Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Imola*, and Sixty Men at Arms under *Giovanni Saſſatello* in the Town, encamping on the main Road, and extending themſelves towards the Mountain. And on the ſame Day the *French* took by Storm the Caſtle of *Solarolo*, and had ſurrendered to them *Cotignuola* and *Granarolo*, where they reſted the next Day, their Enemies halting at a Place called *il Campo alle Moſche*†. In theſe little Shiftings of Places and Situations the Armies came ſo near one

* *De Foix* from *Breſcia* went to *Reggio*, and from thence to wait on the Duke of *Ferrara*, where he indulged himſelf for ſome Days in Pleaſures, and afterwards proceeded from Town to Town till he arrived at the City of *Ferrara*, making a Show of ſpending his Time in Feaſts and Banqueting, while he was really intent on aſſembling his Troops with the utmoſt Speed for entering upon Action. *Auſelmi.*

† *i. e.* the Field of Flies.

one another that they ſtood in Order of Battle with their Artillery before them, and their Faces turned one to another as if they were every Minute to join Battle; yet both of them proceeded with the utmoſt Circumſpection and Order, one not to be compelled to fight except in a Place where the Advantage of Situation would counterballance the Inequality of Numbers and Strength, and the other to reduce their Enemies to a Neceſſity of fighting, but in ſuch a Manner as that their Superiority of Force might not at the ſame time be controlled by the Diſadvantage of the Place. In theſe Quarters *Foix* received freſh Orders from the King his Maſter to haſten a Battle, the ſame Reaſons which had at firſt induced him to give Directions for that Purpoſe becoming more urgent, becauſe the *Venetians*, though weakened by their Misfortune at *Breſcia*, and very much preſſed, firſt by the Intreaties and afterwards by Proteſtations and Menaces, of the Pope and the King of *Aragon*, having refuſed to make Peace with *Cæſar* unleſs he conſented that they ſhould retain *Vicenza*, had at laſt made a Truce

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A. D. 1512. Truce with him in the Pope's Preſence for eight Months; that each Part ſhould keep what they had in Poſſeſſion, and that the *Venetians* ſhould pay unto *Cæſar* Fifty Thouſand *Rheniſh* Florins. Hence the King no longer doubted but that *Maximilian* had deſerted him, and was at the ſame time certified that he was to expect a War againſt his Dominions on the other Side of the Mountains. For *Gieronimo Cabaviglia*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at his Court, having deſired an Audience of the King in full Council, ſignified to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty that he was ordered by the King his Maſter to take his Leave, and in his Name to exhort his Majeſty to deſiſt from favouring the Tyrants of *Bologna* againſt the Church, and from diſturbing, in ſo unjuſt a Cauſe, a Peace of ſo much Importance, and ſo beneficial to the Chriſtian Commonwealth; offering him, if he were apprehenſive of receiving any Damage by the Reſtitution of *Bologna*, to ſecure him by all the Methods he himſelf could deſire; adding at laſt that he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from defending the Church, as it was the Duty of every Chriſtian Prince.

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DE FOIX now aſſuring himſelf that it was to no Purpoſe to keep near the Enemy, becauſe, by the Conveniencies which they received from the Towns of *Romagna*, it would be very difficult to intercept their Convoys of Proviſions, and impoſſible to force them to a Battle but under great Diſadvantage; and finding alſo that his Army ſuffered in their Quarters for Want of Victuals, reſolved, with the Advice of his General Officers, to lay Siege to *Ravenna*, in hopes that the Enemy would not ſuffer a City of ſuch Importance to be loſt before their Eyes, to the great Diminution of their Reputation, and conſequently give him an Opportunity of engaging them on equal Ground. And leſt the Enemy, on conjecturing his Deſign, ſhould approach with their Army for covering *Ravenna*, he poſted himſelf between *Cotignuola* and *Granarolo*, ſeven Miles diſtant from them, where he ſtayed four Days waiting for twelve Cannon and as many ſmaller Pieces of Artillery from *Ferrara*. The Enemy gueſſing his Intention diſpatched away to *Ravenna Marc' Antonio Colonna*, who be-

Siege of *Ravenna*.

A. D. 1512. fore he conſented to go took care that the Legate, the Viceroy, *Fabritio*, *Pietro Navarra*, and all the other General Officers, ſhould every one of them paſs their Word of Honour, that if he ſhould be beſieged by the *French* they would march with the whole Army to his Relief. With *Marc' Antonio* went Sixty Men at Arms of his own Regiment, *Pietro da Caſtro* with an Hundred light Horſe, and *Sallazart* and *Parades* with Six Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot. The reſt of the Army encamped under the Walls of *Faenza* at the Gate that leads to *Ravenna*, in which Station they had a great Skirmiſh with the Enemy. At this Time *Foix* ſent an Hundred Lances and Fifteen Hundred Foot to take the Caſtle of *Ruſſi*, which had no other Garriſon than the Men of the Place, who though at firſt, according to the Cuſtom of the common People, they made a Shew of greater Boldneſs and Reſolution, yet their Hearts ſoon failing, they began to treat of ſurrendering on the ſame Day they were inveſted. During the Parley the *French* ſeeing the People negligent of their Guard violently entered the Place, and plundered it, puting to the Sword above Two Hundred

dred Men, and making the reſt Priſoners. From *Ruffi Foix* came before *Ravenna*, and the next Day took up his Quarters near the Walls in the Space between the two Rivers, in the Middle of which that City is ſituated. Theſe Rivers have their Riſe in the *Apennine* Mountains, where they ſeparate *Romagna* from *Tuſcany*; one of them, now called *Ronco*, was the *Vitis* of the Antients; the other named *Montone* is celebrated for being the firſt of the Rivers, except the *Po*, that riſes from the left Side of the *Apennine*, and falls into the Sea without ever loſing its Name. Between theſe two Rivers is ſeated the City of *Forli*, the *Montone* on the left Hand almoſt touching the Walls, the *Ronco* on the Right running at the Diſtance of two Miles. But when they come near to *Ravenna* they converge in ſuch a Manner as to paſs cloſe under its Walls one on each Side, below which they mix their Waters, and enter the Sea, which is at preſent three Miles diſtant from the City, but formerly, as it is reported, waſhed its Walls. The *French* Army encamped on the Space between the two Rivers, having in its Front the Gate *Adriana*, which is almoſt

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A. D. 1512. contiguous to the Bank of the *Montone*. The next Night they erected their Batteries partly againſt the Tower called *Roncona*, ſituated between the Gate *Adriana* and the *Ronco*, and partly beyond the *Montone*, whither Part of their Army had paſſed by a Bridge they had laid over the River. The Batteries were haſtened as much as poſſible, that the Aſſault might be given before the Enemy, who were known to be already in Motion, made their Approach, and for a no leſs urgent Reaſon, which was, their being reduced to very great Straits for Want of Proviſions, ſince the *Venetian* Troops, which were poſted with ſome armed Veſſels at *Ficheruolo*, had obſtructed all Convoys from *Lombardy*, and by ſinking ſome Boats at the Mouth of the Canal that enters the *Po* twelve Miles from *Ravenna*, and is navigable within two Miles of that City, had prevented the Entrance of any Veſſels with Proviſions from *Ferrara*; and to convey them by Land in Waggons was both difficult and dangerous. Beſides theſe Difficulties the preſent Situation was alſo very inconvenient and dangerous for the Foragers, who were obliged to go ſeven or eight Miles from

from the Camp. For theſe urgent Reaſons *Foix* reſolved to give the Aſſault the next Day, though he knew that it was very difficult to enter the Place, becauſe the Breach was no more than thirty Braces wide, nor was there any Acceſs to it but by Scaling-ladders, ſince it was ſtill very near three Braces from the Ground. To ſurmount theſe Difficulties by Dint of Valour and Diſcipline, and to kindle the Courage of his Soldiers by Emulation, the General divided his *German*, *Italian* and *French* Foot into three diſtinct Bodies, and out of every Company of Men at Arms ſelected Ten of the braveſt, and directing them to cover themſelves with the ſame Armour in which they fought on horſeback, ordered them to march on Foot before the Infantry. They bravely approached the Walls, and gave a very terrible Aſſault, the Beſieged making a moſt brave and reſolute Defence, among whom *Marc' Antonio Colonna* greatly ſignalized himſelf, ſparing no Fatigue, and dreading no Danger, but continually carrying Succours, now here now there, as he ſaw moſt Occaſion. At laſt the *French* loſing all Hopes of forcing their Way into the Town, and having received great Da-

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An Aſſault given in vain.

A. D. 1512. mage from a Culverin planted on a Baſtion, after fighting three Hours, retired to their Camp with the Loſs of Three Hundred Foot, and ſome of their Men at Arms, and had as many of their Men wounded, among whom were *Chatillon*, and *Spinoſa* General of the Artillery, who being hurt by the Cannon of the Place, both died a few Days after; *Federigo da Bozzolo* was alſo wounded, though but ſlightly. The next Day the *French* General changed his Scheme, and inſtead of fighting againſt Walls prepared to engage the Enemy in the Field. For the Generals of the Confederate Army reſolving to keep their Word of Honour with *Marc' Antonio*, on the Motion of the *French* had entered *Forli* ſeated between the ſaid Rivers, and having paſſed the *Ronco* ſome Miles below it were advancing towards *Ravenna*. At the ſame time the Citizens, being terrified by the Aſſault given the Day before, ſent out one of their Body, without the Knowledge of *Marc' Antonio*, to treat of a Surrendry*. But while the Time paſſed in going

* *Roſſi* ſays, not with a real Deſign to ſurrender, but to amuſe the *French* till the Army of the League approached.

going to and fro with Propoſals and Anſwers, the Army of the League was diſcovered marching along the River. At this Sight the *French* immediately with great Noiſe and Hurry got under Arms, and formed themſelves in proper Order, and removing the Cannon from before the Walls, directed them towards the Enemy. *De Foix* then conſulted with his General Officers whether it were adviſeable at that Inſtant to paſs the River, and oppoſe the Enemy's Entrance into *Ravenna*: A Reſolution which*, either the *French* would not have taken, or at leaſt would have been impracticable for them to execute in proper Order, and with the neceſſary Expedition; whence it would have been eaſy for the Confederates to enter that Day into *Ravenna* through the Wood of *Pineta*, which lies between that City and the Sea, and conſequently the *French* muſt have quitted *Romagna* with Diſgrace for Want of Proviſions. But the Allies either being ignorant of the Opportunity, and fearing they ſhould be forced to come to a Battle while they were on their March in the open Field, or elſe imagining that *Ravenna* was

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Confederate Army approaches the *French*.

* If the *Venetians* had advanced.

A. D. 1512. ſufficiently relieved by their Approach, becauſe *Foix* durſt not attempt another Aſſault, ſtopped ſhort, contrary to all Expectation, and encamped at a Place called *Mulinaccio* three Miles from *Ravenna*, where they ſpent the reſt of that Day and the Night following in working at a Ditch, as wide and as deep as the Shortneſs of Time would permit, before the Front of their Camp. At the ſame time Conſultations were held by the *French* Generals, and not without Diverſity of Opinions: For to give a new Aſſault to the City was judged very hazardous while the Breach was ſo ſmall, and the Enemy at their Backs; to ſtay there without Hopes of making any further Progreſs could be of no Service, but rather impoſſible for Want of Proviſions. To retire would be to give the *Spaniards* a greater Reputation than they had acquired the Day before by their advancing forwards; and to attack them in their Camp, which it was to be ſuppoſed they had fortified, would be extremely dangerous, and contrary to all their former Reſolutions; and among all Dangers that ought to be avoided which might be ſucceeded

ceeded by greater Diſaſters, nor could any Diſorder or Diſaſter be compared with a Defeat. In theſe Difficulties it was at laſt reſolved, at the Sollicitations eſpecially of *Foix*, as the ſafeſt as well as the moſt glorious Expedient, to march out as ſoon as it was Day and attack the Enemy. Purſuant to this Reſolution they laid that Night a Bridge over the *Ronco*, and levelled the Slopes of the Banks on all Sides for facilitating the Paſſage. A. D. 1512.

EARLY the next Morning, which was the Eleventh Day of *April*, and highly ſolemnized in Memory of the moſt holy Reſurrection, the *German* Foot paſſed over the Bridge, but almoſt the whole Vanguard and the main Battle waded the River. The Rear commanded by *Yves d'Alegre*, in which were Four Hundred Lances, remained on the Bank of the River towards *Ravenna*, in readineſs to ſuccour the Army on Occaſion, or oppoſe any Sallies from the Garriſon or People of *Ravenna*; and for the Guard of the Bridge laid over the *Montone* was left *Paris*, a *Scotchman*, with a Thouſand Foot. The

French

A. D. 1512. *French* were diſpoſed in Order of Battle as follows: The Vanguard with the Artillery in their Front, commanded by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and conſiſting of Seven Hundred Lances and the *German* Infantry, were drawn up on the Bank of the River, which was at their right Hand, the Foot being poſted on the Left of the Horſe. On the Side of the Vanguard and in the Flank were diſpoſed the Foot of the main Battle, amounting to Eight Thouſand, part *Gaſcons* part *Picards*; and after theſe, at a ſtill greater Diſtance from the Bank of the River, was poſted the laſt Body of Troops, conſiſting of *Italian* Foot under the Command of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, and amounting only to Five Thouſand Men. For though *Foix* when he paſſed by *Bologna* had taken the Garriſon with him, many of the Soldiers had deſerted on account of the Scantineſs of the Pay. On the Side of this Body of Forces were placed all the Archers and the light Horſe, which exceeded the Number of Three Thouſand. Behind all theſe Regiments, which did not extend themſelves in a right Line, but bended in Form of a Half Moon, were poſted

Order of Battle of the *French* Army.

poſted the Six Hundred Lances of the main Battle, commanded by *Paliſſe* in conjunction with the Cardinal of *San Severino*, Legate of the Council, a Man of a large Body and a great Spirit, and who being covered from Head to Foot with glittering Armour, acted the Part of a General much more than of a Cardinal or a Legate. As for *Foix*, he reſerved to himſelf no particular Place or Charge, but ſelecting out of the whole Army thirty of the moſt valiant Gentlemen, choſe rather to be at Liberty to overſee the whole Action, and ſend his Orders and Succours as Neceſſity required, being eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the Splendor and Beauty of his Arms, and by his military Robe. As ſoon as the Army was ranged in Order, he mounted on the Bank of the River, and with a moſt chearful Countenance, his Eyes full of Vigour, and as it were ſparkling with Joy, kindled the Courage of his Soldiers, with an Eloquence, as it is reported, more than military, in the following Manner. A. D. 1512.

" BEHOLD

A. D. 1512.

Speech of *de Foix* to his Army.

"BEHOLD the Time is come, my Soldiers, which we have ſo long and eagerly deſired, of fighting the Enemy in the open Field, which Fortune our indulgent Mother in ſo many Succeſſes has this Day brought to paſs by giving us an Opportunity of obtaining, with infinite Honour, the moſt glorious Victory that ever was obtained by any Army in the Memory of Man. For not only *Ravenna*, not only the Cities of *Romagna* will remain at your Diſcretion, but they will be the leaſt Part of the Reward of your Valour, ſince there being nothing left in *Italy* to oppoſe your Arms, you may run without Reſiſtance to *Rome*, where the immenſe Riches of that wicked Court, extracted during ſo many Ages from the Bowels of Chriſtendom, will become your Prey, with ſuch Quantities of the moſt ſtately Ornaments, and with ſuch Heaps of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, and ſuch rich Priſoners that the whole World will envy your Fortune. From *Rome* you may with the ſame Eaſe make an Excurſion as far as *Naples*, to revenge the many Injuries that you have received.

ceived. I cannot form in my Imagination any Impediment to this your Happineſs, when I conſider your Valour, your Fortune, and the honourable Victories you have obtained in a few Days; when I behold your Countenances, and when I reflect that there are very few of you who have not given a remarable Teſtimony of their Valour by ſome notable Exploit before my Eyes. Our Enemies are the ſame *Spaniards* who on our Conjunction fled away from *Bologna* in ſo ſhameful a Manner by Night; they are the ſame as they were a few Days ago, and no other than thoſe who took Refuge under the Walls of *Imola* and *Faenza*, and in mountainous and difficult Places, to ſave themſelves from us. That Nation never engaged with our Armies in the Kingdom of *Naples* on open and equal Ground, but always with the Advantage of Trenches, Rivers or Ditches, and never truſted to their Valour, but to Wiles and Snares. Neither are theſe Fellows the ſame *Spaniards* that were inured to the *Neapolitan* Wars, but new Levies, unexperienced, and ſuch as never fought againſt

A. D. 1512.

any

A. D. 1512. any other Weapons than the Bows, Arrows, and blunt Lances of the *Moors*. And yet they were defeated with vaſt Diſgrace by that poor, feeble, faint-hearted Nation, in a Manner unarmed, and ignorant of all the Arts of War, but this laſt Year, in the Iſland of *Gerbe*, from whence this ſame *Pietro Navarra*, a General of ſo great Renown among them, betook himſelf to Flight, leaving a memorable Example to all the World that there is a wide Difference between battering of Walls with the Force of Gunpowder, or throwing them down with Mines ſecretly worked under the Earth, and fighting with true Fortitude and Animoſity. And now they ſtand incloſed within a Ditch made but this laſt Night, and under moſt terrible Apprehenſions, their Foot covered with Banks, and truſt in their armed Waggons, as if the Battle were to be managed by ſuch childiſh Inſtruments, and not with the Courage and Reſolution of the Heart, and the Strength and Robuſtneſs of the Breaſt and Arms. Our Artillery, believe me, will bring them out of their Holes into the open and plain Field, where it will appear how

how much the Fury of the *French*, the Fierceneſs of the *Germans*, and the Bravery of the *Italians* are ſuperior to the Cunning and Snares of the *Spaniards*. Nothing can diminiſh our Glory but that we are ſo much ſuperior in Number, and indeed almoſt double to them; and yet none will accuſe us of Cowardice for uſing this Advantage which Fortune has given us, but will lay the Blame on the Imprudence and Raſhneſs of the Enemy, who are not induced to fight by Courage or Valour, but by the Authority of *Fabritio Colonna* on account of the Promiſes inconſiderately made to *Marc' Antonio*, or rather by the divine Juſtice to chaſtiſe by moſt deſerved Puniſhments the Pride and enormous Vices of that falſe Pope *Julius*, and that Multitude of fraudulent and treacherous Practices with which the Goodneſs of our King has been abuſed by the perfidious King of *Aragon*. But what Reaſon have I to expatiate any further in Words? Or what Occaſion is there to uſe ſuperfluous Encouragements with Soldiers of ſuch approved Valour, ſince all the Time I ſpend in ſpeaking is but ſo long deferring your Victory?

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A. D. 1512. Victory? March on then boldly, my brave Fellow-Soldiers, according to your Orders, and be aſſured that this Day will bring Empire to my King, and to you the Riches of all *Italy*. I your General will always be with you in every Place, and expoſe my Life as uſual to all Dangers, thinking myſelf the happieſt of all Generals, ſince by this Day's Victory I ſhall make my Soldiers richer and more glorious than ever were any Soldiers or Army for theſe Three Hundred Years paſt.

At theſe Words the Air reſounded with the Sounds of Trumpets and Drums, and the cheerful Acclamations of the whole Army. The Troops then began to move towards the Enemy, who were leſs than two Miles diſtant from the Place where they had paſſed the River. Their Camp was extended along the Bank, which was on their Left, and at their Front was a Ditch as deep as the Shortneſs of Time would permit them to make it, and which winding about to the Right encompaſſed the whole Camp, except an Opening of twenty Braces

Braces in the Front left for the Horſe to ſally out for ſkirmiſhing. Within this Camp, as ſoon as they perceived the *French* began to paſs the River, they ranged themſelves in Order of Battle as follows. The Vanguard, conſiſting of Eight Hundred Men at Arms, commanded by *Fabritio Colonna*, was diſpoſed along the Bank of the River, and adjoining to theſe on the Right was poſted a Body of Six Thouſand Foot. Behind the Vanguard and along the River was the main Battle, compoſed of Six Hundred Lances, flanked by a Body of Four Thouſand Foot, under the Command of the Viceroy aſſiſted by the Marquis *della Palude*. In this Diviſion came alſo the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who was naturally purblind, of a mild Deportment, in a Habit of Peace, and not only in outward Show, but in his Actions and Behaviour, very unlike the Cardinal of *San Severino*. Behind the main Battle, and diſpoſed alſo along the Bank of the River, was the Rearguard, commanded by *Carvagial*, a *Spaniſh* General, conſiſting of Four Hundred Men at Arms, flanked by a Body of Four Thouſand Foot. The

A. D. 1512.

Order of Battle of the Confederate Army.

A. D. 1512. light Horſe, over whom was Captain General *Ferrando Davala*, Marquis of *Peſcara*, as yet very young, but of extraordinary Hopes, were poſted on the Right at the Back of the Infantry, to ſuccour any Part that ſhould give Way. The Artillery was planted at the Head of the Men at Arms, and *Pietro Navarra*, who with a Battalion of Five Hundred choſen Foot was aſſigned no particular Poſt, had, on the Brink of the Ditch before the Infantry, placed thirty Waggons reſembling the falcated * Chariots of the Antients, loaded with ſmall Pieces of Artillery, and armed with a very long Spear, that projected from the Top, for the better ſuſtaining the furious Attack of the *French*. In this Order they ſtood ranged within the Fortification of their Ditch, expecting the Aſſault of the Enemy; which Diſpoſition as it did them no Service in the End of the Action, ſo it appeared very prejudicial in the Beginning: For *Fabritio Colonna* had propoſed to attack the Enemy when they began to paſs the River, judging the Advantage of engaging only with one Part of them greater than what they could promiſe themſelves from having

* Armed with Scythes.

having a ſmall Ditch before them. But *Pietro Navarra*, whoſe Counſels were reſpected by the Viceroy as Oracles, oppoſing this Meaſure, it was imprudently reſolved to let them paſs unmoleſted. The *French* then moving forwards, and being advanced within Two Hundred Braces of the Ditch, when they ſaw their Enemies ſtand ſtill, and unwilling to leave their Camp, halted, that they might not give them that Advantage which they ſought to gain. Hence both Armies ſtood immoveable for more than two Hours, during which there was a continual Fire from the Artillery on both Sides, by which the *French* Foot ſuffered not a little, for *Navarra* had planted his Cannon on a Place from whence they were greatly annoyed. But the Duke of *Ferrara* drew a Part of the Artillery from the Rear of the Army, and with great Expedition conveyed it to a proper Place at the Point where the *French* Archers were poſted. This Point, becauſe the Army had the Form of a Creſcent, was almoſt on the Back of the Enemy, who were terribly galled from thence in Flank, eſpecially the Cavalry;

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A. D. 1512. for *Pietro Navarra* had drawn off the *Spaniſh* Infantry to a lower Ground near the Bank of the River, and ordered them to lie flat on the Earth, by which Means they avoided the Shot. *Fabritio* cried out with a loud Voice, and by repeated Importunities and Meſſages intreated the Viceroy not to wait till they were all deſtroyed by the Cannon, but to march out with the Troops to Battle. But he was oppoſed by *Navarra* out of a perverſe Ambition; for that Officer preſuming that he could come off Conqueror by the Valour of the *Spaniſh* Foot, though all the reſt periſhed, imagined that the more Loſs the Army ſuſtained, the more his Glory would be increaſed. But the *French* Artillery had made ſuch Deſtruction among the Men at Arms and the light Horſe, that it was no longer ſupportable; and it was a miſerable Spectacle to behold ſometimes Men and Horſes promiſcuouſly with horrible Cries falling dead to the Ground, ſometimes Heads and Arms ſtruck off from the reſt of the Body, and bounding in the Air. *Fabritio* therefore crying out, "What muſt we all be ſhamefully ſacrificed to the obſtinate Malice

lice of one Raſcal? And is this whole Army to be deſtroyed without killing one Enemy? Where is our Senſe of ſo many Victories over the *French*? Shall the Honour of *Spain* and *Italy* be loſt by Means of a *Navarreſe*?" ſpurred out of the Ditch with his Men at Arms, without expecting Leave or Orders from the Viceroy, and was followed by all the Cavalry. Hence *Pietro Navarra* was obliged to give the Signal to his Foot, who raiſing themſelves from the Ground with great Fierceneſs engaged the *German* Infantry, who were almoſt come upon them. All the Battalions and Squadrons thus charging one among another, there began a very great Battle, and without Doubt one of the greateſt that *Italy* had ſeen for theſe many Years. For the Fight at the *Taro* was little better than a briſk Encounter with Lances, and the Engagements in the Kingdom of *Naples* were rather diſorderly and inconſiderate Attacks than Battles, and in the Action in the *Ghiaradadda* only the leſſer Part of the *Venetian* Army was engaged. But here all the Troops were intermingled in a Battle fought on plain

A. D. 1512.

Battle of *Ravenna*.

A. D. 1512. Ground, without the Impediments of Waters or Banks, where both Armies combated with Minds obſtinately bent on Death or Victory, and inflamed not only with Danger, Glory, and Hope, but alſo with the Hatred of Nation againſt Nation. And it was a memorable Spectacle, in the hot Engagement between the *German* and *Spaniſh* Infantry, to ſee two very noted Officers, *Jacopo Empſer* a *German*, and *Zamudio* a *Spaniard* advance before their Battalions, and encounter one another, as if it were by Challenge, in which Combat the *Spaniard* went off Conqueror by killing his Adverſary. The Cavalry of the Army of the League was not at beſt equal to that of the *French*, and having been ſhattered and torn by the Artillery was become much inferior. Wherefore after they had ſuſtained for ſome Time, more by Stoutneſs of Heart than by Strength of Arms, the Fury of the Enemy, *Yves d'Alegre* with the Rearguard and a Thouſand Foot that were left at the *Montone* under *Paliſſe*, and now recalled, charging them in Flank, and *Fabritio Colonna* valiantly fighting being taken Priſoner

Confederates defeated.

ſoner by the Soldiers of the Duke of *Ferrara*, they turned their Backs, in which they did no more than follow the Example of their Generals; for the Viceroy and *Carvagiale*, without making the utmoſt Proof of the Valour of their Troops, betook themſelves to Flight, carrying off with them the third Diviſion, or Rearguard, almoſt entire, with *Antonio da Leva*, a Man at that Time of low Rank, though afterwards, by a continual Exerciſe of Arms for many Years, riſing through all the military Degrees, he became a very famous General. The whole Body of light Horſe had been already broken, and the Marquis of *Peſcara* their Commander taken Priſoner, covered with Blood and Wounds. And the Marquis *della Palude*, who had led up the ſecond Diviſion, or main Battle, through a Field full of Ditches and Briars, in great Diſorder, to the Fight, was alſo taken. The Ground was covered with dead Men and Horſes, and yet the *Spaniſh* Infantry, though abandoned by the Horſe, continued fighting with incredible Fierceneſs; and though, at the firſt Encounter with the *German* Foot, they

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A. D. 1512. had received ſome Damage from the firm and cloſe Order of the Pikes, yet afterwards getting their Enemies within the Length of their Swords, and many of them covered with Targets, puſhing with Daggers between the Legs of the *Germans*, they had penetrated with very great Slaughter almoſt to the Center of their Battalions. The *Gaſcon* Foot, who were poſted by the *Germans* on the Ground between the River and a riſing Bank, had attacked the *Italian* Infantry, who, though they had greatly ſuffered by the Artillery, would have repulſed them highly to their Honour, had not *Yves d'Alegre* entered among them with a Squadron of Horſe. But the Fortune of that General did not anſwer his Valour, for his Son *Viverais* being almoſt immediately killed before his Eyes, the Father, unwilling to ſurvive ſo great a Loſs, threw himſelf with his Horſe into the thickeſt of the Enemies, where fighting like a moſt valiant Captain, and killing ſeveral, he was at laſt cut to Pieces*. The *Italian* Foot, unable to reſiſt

* *Alegre* longing to revenge the Death of his Son *Melilaud*, who had, the Year before, been killed in *Ferrara* by

ſiſt ſo great a Multitude, gave way; but Part of the *Spaniſh* Infantry haſtening to ſupport them they rallied. On the other Side the *German* Infantry, being ſorely preſſed by the other Part of the *Spaniards*, were hardly capable of making any Reſiſtance; but the Cavalry of the Confederates being all fled out of the Field, *Foix* with a great Body of Horſe turned to fall upon them. The *Spaniards* therefore rather retiring than driven out of the Field, without the leaſt Diſorder in their Ranks, took their Way between the River and the Bank, marching ſlowly and with a cloſe Front, by the Strength of which they beat off the *French*, and began to diſengage themſelves; at which Time *Pietro Navarra*, chuſing rather to die than to ſave himſelf, and therefore refuſing to leave the Field, was made a Priſoner. But *Foix* thinking it intolerable that this *Spaniſh* Infantry ſhould march off in Battle-Array like Conquerors, and knowing that the Victory was not perfect, if theſe were not broken

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by ſome Soldiers of *Ramazotto*, an *Italian* Officer, went to take his Vengeance upon his Troops, where he loſt his other Son *Vivarais*, and at laſt was killed himſelf. *Giovio. Roſſi.*

A. D. 1512 broken and diſperſed as the reſt, went furiouſly to attack them with a Squadron of Horſe, and did Execution upon the hindmoſt; but being ſurrounded, and thrown from his Horſe, or, as ſome ſay, his Horſe falling upon him while he was fighting, he received a mortal Thruſt with a Pike in his Side. And if it be deſireable, as it is believed, for a Man to die in the Height of his Proſperity, it is certain that he met with a moſt happy Death in dying after he had obtained ſo glorious a Victory*. He died very young, but highly celebrated throughout the World, having in leſs than three Months, and being a General almoſt before he was a Soldier, with incredible

De Foix killed.

* *De Foix* was greatly diſſuaded by his Officers from purſuing the Infantry marching off in Order, telling him that he had done enough for his Honour in remaining Maſter of the Field, without tempting Fortune any farther. But, hurried on by his Fate, he told them that it would be no Victory while this Body of Men with their General went off ſafe and in Order of Battle. *Anſelmi*. This Author alſo and *Giovio* write that *Foix* finding himſelf wounded by the *Spaniards* cried out ſeveral Times, that he was *Foix*, and Brother to the Queen of *Spain*; which, however, did not in the leaſt avail him. But *Anſelmi* gives no Credit to this Circumſtance, ſaying, that though the Fear of Death is of mighty Efficacy, yet the Magnanimity of a royal Heart was ſufficient to controul it.

incredible Ardor and Expedition, obtained so many Victories. Near him lay on the Ground for dead *Lautrec*, having received twenty Wounds; but being carried to *Ferrara*, he was by the diligent Care of the Surgeons recovered*. By the Death of *Foix* the *Spaniards* were suffered to pass off unmolested, the Remainder of the Army being dispersed and put to Flight, and the Baggage, Colours, and Cannon taken. The Pope's Legate was also taken by the Stradiotti, and carried to *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who made a Present of him to the Legate of the Council. There were taken also *Fabritio Colonna*, *Pietro Navarra*, the Marquis *della Palude*, the Marquis of *Bitonto*, the Marquis of *Pescara*, with many other Lords, Barons, and honourable Gentlemen, *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans*. Nothing is more uncertain than the Number of the Killed in Battles; but amidst the Variety of Accounts it is the most common Opinion that there died of both Armies at least Ten Thousand, of which one Third was of the *French*, and Two Thirds

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* *Lautrec*, afterwards Captain General of the *French*, with unlimited Authority, was Cousin German to *Foix*.

A. D. 1512. Thirds of their Enemies; ſome talk of many more*, but they were without Queſtion almoſt all of them of the moſt valiant and choice Soldiers, among whom belonging to the Eccleſiaſtic Forces was *Rafaello de' Pazzi*, an Officer of high Reputation; and great Numbers were wounded. But in this Reſpect the Loſs of the Conqueror was without Compariſon much the greater by the Death of *Foix*, *Yves d'Alegre*, and many of the *French* Nobility, General *Jacob*, and many other brave Officers of the *German* Infantry, by whoſe Valour, though at a vaſt Expence of their Blood, the Victory was in a great meaſure acquired, *Molard* alſo, with many other Officers of the *Gaſcons* and *Picards*, which Nations loſt all their Glory that Day among the *French*. But all this Loſs was exceeded by the Death of *Foix*, with whom periſhed the very Sinews and Spirits of that Army. Of the Vanquiſhed that eſcaped out of the Field of Battle the greater Part fled

* *Giovio* and *Mocenigo* make the Slain Twenty Thouſand; *Bembo* and *Anſelmi* Eighteen Thouſand; *Buonacorſi* Sixteen Thouſand, and *Giuſtiniano* almoſt as many more, in which he little differs from *Roſſi*; *Gradinico* makes the Killed above Twenty Thouſand.

fled towards *Ceſena*, whence they continued their Flight to more diſtant Places; nor did the Viceroy ſtop till he came to *Ancona*, where he arrived with a very few Horſe. Many were ſtripped and murdered in their Flight; for the Peaſants ſcoured all the Roads, and the Duke of *Urbino*, who, from his ſending ſome time before *Baldaſſarre da Caſtiglione* to the King of *France*, and employing ſome truſty Perſons as his Agents with *Foix*, was ſuppoſed to have entered into a private Agreement againſt his Uucle, not only raiſed the Country againſt thoſe that fled, but ſent his Soldiers to intercept them in the Territories of *Peſaro*; ſo that only thoſe who took their Flight through the Dominions of the *Florentines*, were, by Orders of the Magiſtrates, confirmed by the Republic, ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted. A. D. 1512.

THE victorious Army was no ſooner returned to their Camp than the People of *Ravenna* ſent Deputies to treat of ſurrendering their City; but when they had agreed, or were upon the Point of Agreement, and the Inhabitants, being employed in preparing

A. D. 1512. paring Proviſions to be ſent to the Camp, were negligent in guarding the Walls, the *German* and *Gaſcon* Foot entered through the Breach that had been made, and plundered the Town in a moſt barbarous Manner, their Cruelty being exaſperated not only by their natural Hatred to the Name of the *Italians*, but by a Spirit of Revenge for the Loſs they had ſuſtained in the Battle. On the fourth Day after this *Marc' Antonio Colonna* gave up the Cittadel, into which he had retired, on Condition of Safety to the Perſons and Effects, but obliging himſelf on the other hand, together with the reſt of the Officers, not to bear Arms againſt the King of *France* nor the *Piſan* Council, till the next Feſtival of *S. Mary Magdalen*; and not many Days after Biſhop *Vitello*, who commanded in the Caſtle with an Hundred and Fifty Men, agreed to ſurrender it on Terms of Safety for Life and Goods. The Cities of *Imola*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, and *Rimini*, and all the Caſtles of *Romagna*, except thoſe of *Forli* and *Imola*, followed the Fortune of the Victory, and were received by the Legate in the Name of the Council.

Ravenna taken and ſacked.

But

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BUT the *French* Army, by the Death of *Foix*, and the great Loſs they had received, was become in a manner ſtupid, remaining idle in their Camp four Miles from *Ravenna*. For the Legate and *Paliſſe*, on whom was devolved the Command (*Alfonſo d'Eſte* being returned to *Ferrara*) being uncertain of the King's Determination, expected their Commiſſions; and had not yet that Authority with the Soldiers which was required to put the Army in Motion; and the Troops were employed in diſtributing, or beſtowing in Places of Security, the Goods they had plundered, and ſo much weakened and diſpirited by the Victory which had coſt them ſo much Blood, that they look'd as if they had been beaten, and had not the Face of Conquerors. Now it was that all the Soldiers, with Tears and Lamentations, called upon the Name of *Foix*, whom they would have followed through the World, ſurmounting all Difficulties, and deſpiſing all Dangers. Nor was it doubted but that, being puſhed forward by the Impulſe of his natural Ferocity, and

Death of *Foix* deplored.

A. D. 1512. and by the Promiſes which the King, it was ſaid, had made him that he ſhould conquer *Naples* for himſelf, he would, with his uſual Expedition, have haſtened to *Rome*, whence the Pope with his Court, having no other Hopes of ſaving themſelves, muſt have fled with Precipitation.

THE News of the Defeat arrived at *Rome* on the thirteenth Day of *April*, being brought by *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, who came Expreſs with it from *Foſſombrone*. The diſmal Account threw the whole Court into the greateſt Terror and Confuſion, the Cardinals immediately flocking to the Pope, and conjuring him by the moſt earneſt Intreaties to accept of Peace, which they did not doubt he might obtain on Terms honourable enough from the King of *France*; beſeeching him to diſpoſe himſelf at laſt for delivering the Apoſtolic See, and his own Perſon, from ſo great a Danger; repreſenting to him that he had ſufficiently fatigued himſelf for the Exaltation of the Church, and for the Liberty of *Italy*, and had acquired great Glory by his holy Intentions: That he ſhould ſucceed

Pope exhorted to Peace.

in

in ſo pious an Enterpriſe was diſcovered, by many Signs and Tokens, to be contrary to the Will of God, to act in Oppoſition to which would be no other than to bring the Church to utter Ruin: That it belonged more to God than to him to take the Care of his Spouſe, and therefore he ought to reſign himſelf to the divine Will, and, by embracing Peace according to the Precepts of the Goſpel, at once deliver his old Age, the State of the Church, and his whole Court, which longed and cried out for nothing but Peace, from all their Troubles: And it was ſuppoſed, they ſaid, that the Conquerors had already put themſelves in Motion for directly marching to *Rome*, and that they would be joined by his Nephew, and alſo by *Roberto Orſino*, *Pompeo Colonna*, *Antimo Savello*, *Pietro Margano*, and *Renzo Mancino*, who were known to have received Money from the King of *France*, and had been preparing to raiſe Diſturbances, and diſtreſs *Rome* even before the Battle of *Ravenna*; againſt which great and imminent Dangers there could be no other Remedy than Peace.

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A. D. 1512.

On the other hand the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Aragon* and of the *Venetian* Senate made very ſtrong Remonſtrances to his Holineſs againſt a Peace, endeavouring to perſuade him that Affairs were not ſo diſtreſſed, nor reduced to ſuch Extremities as was imagined: That the Army was not ſo much diſſipated, but that it might, in a very ſhort time, and with no great Expence, be re-eſtabliſhed: That they knew the Viceroy had ſaved himſelf with the greater Part of the Cavalry, and that the *Spaniſh* Infantry had marched off the Field of Battle in cloſe and proper Order; and if they were ſafe, as it was probable, all the other Loſs was but of ſmall Moment: That there was no Reaſon to be apprehenſive that the *French* would come to *Rome* ſo ſoon but that he might have Time to provide for his Defence, becauſe the Death of their General muſt of Neceſſity be attended with many Diſorders and Inconveniencies: That they were moreover held in Suſpenſe by their Jealouſies of the *Swiſs*, who, it was no longer doubted, would declare for the League, and

Reaſons diſſuading the Pope from a Peace.

and make a Deſcent into *Lombardy*: That Peace was not to be expected from the King of *France* but on very unjuſt and diſhonourable Terms, and his Holineſs would be obliged to receive Laws from the Pride of *Bernardino Carvagial*, and from the Inſolence of *Federigo da San Severino*. Any thing therefore would be better for him, than, under the Name of Peace, to ſubmit, with ſo much Indignity and Diſgrace, to a moſt oppreſſive and moſt inſecure Slavery; for theſe Schiſmatics would never deſiſt from making Attempts on his Dignity and on his Life. It would be much the leſſer Evil for him, if it could not be avoided, to abandon *Rome*, and remove with all his Court to the Kingdom of *Naples* or to *Venice*, where he might live in the ſame Honour and Security, and with the ſame Grandeur; for the Loſs of *Rome* was not attended with the Loſs of the Pontificate, which is always annexed to the Perſon of the Pontiff, in whatever Place he reſides. His Holineſs therefore had no more to do than to hold faſt his uſual Conſtancy and Magnanimity, for God, the Searcher of human Hearts,

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A. D. 1512. would not fail to aſſiſt his honeſt and pious Intentions, nor forſake the Bark of *Peter*, which, though often toſſed by the Waves, can never ſink; and the Chriſtian Princes, excited by their Zeal for Religion, and their Dread of the exorbitant Greatneſs of the King of *France*, would, with all their Forces, and in their own proper Perſons, undertake his Defence.

THE Pope heard theſe Reaſons offered on both Sides with vaſt Doubt and Perplexity, ſo that it was eaſy to diſcover in him the Struggles between his Dangers and Fears on one Side, and his Enmity, Indignation, and an Obſtinacy unuſed to bend or be overcome, on the other; and it was underſtood alſo, by his Anſwers to the Ambaſſadors, that he would not be ſo uneaſy at his leaving *Rome*, as becauſe there was no Place to which he could retire without putting himſelf in the Power of others. Wherefore he anſwered the Cardinals that he choſe Peace, and conſented that they ſhould ſollicit the *Florentines* to interpoſe their Mediation with the King of *France* for that Purpoſe; but his

Anſwer

Anſwer was not ſo determinate, and in ſuch expreſſive Terms, as to give full Aſ- A. D. 1512.
ſurance of his Intentions. He had ſent for *Biaſcià*, a *Genoeſe*, Commander of his Galleys, from *Civita Vecchia*, which made it conjectured that he deſigned to depart from *Rome*; but, ſoon after he diſmiſſed him, and conſulted about raiſing the *Roman* Barons that had not taken Part with the others, and willingly hearkened to the Sollicitations of the two Ambaſſadors, though he would often anſwer them in angry and affronting Words.

Pope averſe to Peace.

AT this Juncture arrived *Giulio de' Medici*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, and afterwards Pope, whom the Cardinal *de' Medici*, with Leave from the Cardinal of *San Severino*, had ſent from the Army, on pretence of recommending himſelf to the Pope's Favour under his great Misfortune, but in reality to make a Report of the State of Affairs*. By his Account his Holineſs was fully informed how greatly the *French*

* *Giulio de' Medici*, afterwards Pope *Clement* VII. had fled from the Battle to *Ceſena*, and afterwards obtained a Paſs for paying a Viſit to the Cardinal his Couſin German, by whom he was diſpatched to the Pope. *Giovio.*

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His Encouragements for continueing the War.

were weakened, of how many Commanders they were deprived, what Numbers of valiant Soldiers they had loſt, how many were for a long time rendered unſerviceable by their Wounds, what vaſt Deſtruction there was of Horſes, that Part of the Army was diſperſed into various Places by the Pillage of *Ravenna*, and that the Generals were in Suſpenſe, and uncertain of the King's Will, and had no good Underſtanding between themſelves, becauſe *Paliſſe* refuſed to endure the Inſolence of *San Severino*, who would aſſume the Office of General as well as of Legate; that it was privately whiſpered that the *Swiſs* were on their March, and that there was no Sign that the Army would ſoon put itſelf in Motion. The Pope was mightily comforted at theſe Particulars, and had the Meſſenger introduced into a Conſiſtory, where he made him give the ſame Relation before the Cardinals; and it was added that the Duke of *Urbino*, from ſome Motive or other, had changed his Reſolution, and ſent to offer his Uncle Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Four Thouſand Foot. The Cardinals however

continued

continued to ſtimulate his Holineſs to Peace, from which though he did not appear to be averſe in Words, yet he was reſolved not to accept it but as the laſt and deſperate Remedy; and therefore, though he ſhould ſee no Cure at hand for the preſent Diſorder, he was determined rather to fly out of *Rome*, provided he was not quite deprived of all Hopes of Aſſiſtance from the Arms of the Princes in Support of his Cauſe, and particularly from the Nation of the *Swiſs*, who, ſhewing an Inclination to comply with his Deſires, had ſome time before forbidden the Ambaſſadors of the King of *France* to be preſent at the Place where the Deputies of all the Cantons were aſſembled, in order to come to a Reſolution on the Demands of the Pontiff. A. D. 1512.

In this Situation of Affairs there appeared ſome tranſient Glimpſes of a Peace; for the King of *France*, before the Battle was fought, under a deep Concern of ſo many Dangers threatening him from all Quarters, and provoked at the Unſteadineſs of *Cæſar*, and the hard Conditions he had

A. D. 1512. propoſed to him, had at laſt reſolved rather to comply in many Points with the Pope's Will; and for that End had given ſecret Orders to *Fabritio Carretta*, Brother to the Cardinal of *Finale*, and to the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*, who had never wholly deſiſted from treating about an Agreement, to propoſe, that *Bologna* ſhould be reſtored to the Pontiff, that *Alfonſo d'Eſte* ſhould alſo ſurrender to him *Lugo*, with all the other Towns that he poſſeſſed in *Romagna*, and ſhould be obliged to pay the antient Tribute, and to make no more Salt in his Territories; and that the Council ſhould be aboliſhed. He made no other Demands of the Pope in return but Peace only with him, that *Alfonſo d'Eſte* ſhould be abſolved from his Cenſures, and reſtored to the Enjoyment of his antient Rights and Privileges, that the *Bentivogli*, who were to remain in Exile, ſhould reſerve the Poſſeſſion of their own proper Eſtates, and that the Cardinals and Prelates who had adhered to the Council ſhould be reſtored to their Dignities. Though the two Cardinals were apprehenſive that the King, ſince his Victory,

Propoſals of the King of *France* to the Pope.

tory, would not give his Conſent to theſe Conditions, yet they durſt not propoſe them in any other Form; and the Pontiff finding them ſo honourable for himſelf, and unwilling to diſcover the ſecret Reſolution which he had taken in his Mind, judged that he ought not to refuſe them; and that perhaps alſo he could not do himſelf more Service than by endeavouring with theſe Negotiations to ſuſpend the Operations of the King's Army, that he might have the more Time to wait the Progreſs of thoſe Powers in whom he repoſed his laſt Hopes. Wherefore, all the Cardinals importuning him to do what he had determined, he ſubſcribed theſe Articles on the ninth Day after the Battle, and paſſed his Word to the Cardinals that he would accept them, provided they were confirmed by the King; he commiſſioned alſo by Letters the Cardinal of *Finale*, who reſided in *France*, but abſented himſelf from Court becauſe he would not offend his Holineſs, and the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, his Legate in *Avignon*, to wait on his Majeſty with the Articles in order to treat about

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. about the Affair, but he ſent them no Orders nor Powers to bring it to a Concluſion*.

THUS far proceeded the Courſe of the Pope's Misfortunes, and at this Period we may date the Height of his Calamities and Dangers; but from this Time his Hopes and Proſpects continually brightened and increaſed, and the Wheel of Fortune turned without any Check towards his Aggrandizement. The Beginning of ſo remarkable a Change in the Face of Affairs was occaſioned by the ſudden Departure of *Paliſſe* from *Romagna*. This Commander being recalled by the General of *Normandy*, on account of the ſpreading Reports of the Coming of the *Swiſs*, removed with the Army towards the Dutchy of *Milan*, leaving in *Romagna* Three Hundred Lances, Three Hundred light Horſe, with Eight Pieces of heavy Cannon, under the

Affairs of the Pope take a proſperous Turn.

* *Julius*, ſoon after he had ſent the Articles of Peace drawn up in Form, and ſubſcribed with his own Hand, to the King, ſent for the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, and deſired them to be under no Concern at what he had done, for he was not in the leaſt altered in his Reſolution againſt the *French*, but had made this Step to lull the King aſleep. *Bembo*.

the Command of the Legate of the Coun- *A. D.* cil. And the Fears from the *Swiſs* were 1512. the more alarming, becauſe the ſame General, being more ſollicitous to pleaſe than to profit the King, had, contrary to the preſent Exigencies of Affairs, immediately after the Victory, imprudently diſbanded all the *Italian* and Part of the *French* Infantry. The Departure of *Paliſſe* delivered the Pope from his Fears, confirmed him in his Obſtinacy, and rendered it eaſy for him to ſettle Affairs at *Rome* to his own Liking. For this End he had enliſted ſome *Roman* Barons with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and treated of making *Proſpero Colonna* Captain General. For the Courage of thoſe who had attempted Innovations failing them, *Pompeo Colonna*, who was making Preparations at *Monte Fortino*, conſented, at the Interpoſition of *Proſpero*, to depoſit that Fortreſs, for the Security of the Pontiff, in the Hands of *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, baſely keeping the Money he had received of the King of *France*. Hence alſo *Ruberto Orſino*, who was come from *Pitigliano* to the Territories of the *Colonnas*, with a Deſign to raiſe War, ſoon after came

A: D. 1512. came to an Agreement by the Mediation of *Giulio Orſino*, retaining alſo the King's Money, and receiving of the Pontiff, in reward of his Perfidy, the Archbiſhopric of *Reggio* in *Calabria*. Only *Pietro Margano* was aſhamed to keep the Money which he had received, but fortunately as well as honourably returned it; for not very long after, being taken priſoner in War by the Succeſſor of the Preſent King, he would otherwiſe have paid the Penalty due to his Treachery.

Lateran Council opened.

The Pope now greatly confirmed in his Reſolutions by theſe Events, and delivered from preſent Fears of domeſtic as well as foreign Enemies, on the third Day of *May* with very great Solemnity opened the Council in the Church of *San Giovanni Laterano*, being aſſured of the Attendance not only of the greater Part of *Italy*, but of *Spain*, *England*, and *Hungary*. At this Opening he aſſiſted in Perſon, clothed in his pontifical Robes, and accompanied by the College of Cardinals, with a great Number of Biſhops. After celebrating, according to antient Cuſtom, the Maſs of the

the Holy Ghoſt, beſides many other Prayers, and exhorting the Fathers, by a public Oration, to apply themſelves heartily to the Promotion of the common Good, and of the Dignity of the Chriſtian Religion, it was declared, in order to lay a Foundation for future Proceedings, that the Council there aſſembled was a true, lawful and holy Council, in which undoubtedly reſided all the Power and Authority of the univerſal Church: Ceremonies certainly very decent and very holy, and of Force ſufficient to penetrate into the inmoſt Receſſes of the Hearts of Men, if they could but perſuade themſelves that the Authors of them had no other Ends to proſecute than what appeared from the obvious Meaning of the Words. A. D. 1512.

THESE were the Proceedings of the Pope after the Battle of *Ravenna*. But the King of *France*, though his Joy for the Victory was ſomewhat allayed by the Death of *Foix*, whom he dearly loved, immediately ordered the Legate and *Paliſſe* to lead the Army with all poſſible Speed to *Rome*: However, after his firſt Ardor was

A. D. 1512. was cooled, he began to return to his eager Deſires of Peace, foreſeeing the great Tempeſt which from ſo many Quarters at once threatened to overwhelm his States. For though *Cæſar* continued his Promiſes of ſtanding firm to his Alliance, proteſting that the Truce made with the *Venetians* in his Name was without his Conſent, and that he would never ratify it, yet the King, beſides his Apprehenſions from that Prince's Inconſtancy, and his not being certain of the Veracity of his Words, was but too ſenſible that he was linked with a Companion burdenſome in War, and hurtful in Peace, ſince he ſuppoſed that by his intermeddling in the Affair he ſhould be conſtrained to conſent to the more diſhonourable Conditions. Beſides, he no longer doubted that the *Swiſs* would enter into an Alliance with his Enemies, and from the King of *England* he expected nothing but War, for that King had ſent an Herald to ſignify to him that it was his Intention that all the Conventions and Confederacies which had ſubſiſted between them ſhould be ended, ſince all of them contained this Exception, namely, "provided

King of *France* deſirous of Peace.

vided the King of *France* made no War againſt the Church, nor againſt the Catholic King the King of *England*'s Father-in-law. *Lewis* therefore was highly pleaſed that the *Florentines* had been ſollicited to interpoſe their Mediation for a Peace, and immediately diſpatched to *Florence* the Preſident of *Grenoble*, with very full Inſtructions, that the Treaty might be negotiated in a Place more at hand, and that he might go, if it were expedient, from thence to *Rome*. And when he afterwards came to know the free and ready Inclination, as it then ſeemed, of the Pope by his ſubſcribing the Articles, he was wholly intent on a Peace. But being apprehenſive that the Pontiff, on the Departure of the Army, would relapſe into his uſual Stubbornneſs, he ordered *Paliſſe*, who was now arrived at *Parma*, immediately to return with Part of the Troops into *Romagna*, and to ſpread a Report that he had Orders to proceed further. He thought it very hard that he ſhould be obliged to part with *Bologna*, not ſo much on account of the Inſtances made to him in the Name of *Cæſar* to the contrary, as

A. D. 1512.

becauſe

A. D. 1512. becauſe he doubted that, even after the Peace was made, the Pope would entertain the ſame Prejudice againſt him. For this Reaſon it would be detrimental to deprive himſelf of *Bologna*, which ought to be defended as an Outwork or Bulwark of the Dutchy of *Milan*, Beſides, as the Cardinal of *Finale*, and the Biſhop of *Tivoli* were arrived at his Court without a Commiſſion to conclude any thing, and the Pope was at that Time ſurrounded with ſo many Difficulties and Dangers, it ſeemed a plain Sign that he had conſented out of Diſſimulation. At laſt, however, he reſolved to accept the abovementioned Articles, with certain Limitations, but not ſuch as would affect the main Subſtance. With this Anſwer the Secretary of the Biſhop of *Tivoli* was diſpatched to *Rome*, to ſollicit the Pontiff, in the Name of the King, either to ſend his Orders to the aforeſaid Biſhop and the Cardinal to conclude the Agreement, or to ſend to *Florence* for the Preſident of *Grenoble*, who was furniſhed with full Powers for the ſame Purpoſe.

But

A. D. 1512.

BUT the Hopes of the Pontiff every Day increaſed. and conſequently his Inclinations, if he ever had any, to Peace diminiſhed. A Commiſſion was arrived from the King of *England*, by which the Cardinal of *York* was empowered to ſign the League, having been diſpatched in *November* laſt, but he was a long time retarded in his Coming by the great Compaſs he was obliged to take, having paid a Viſit in *Spain* by the Way. And *Cæſar*, after long Heſitation, had at laſt ratified the Truce with the *Venetians*, the principal Inducement to which was the Hopes which the Catholic King and the King of *England* had given him with reſpect to his Pretenſions on the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Burgundy*. The Pope was much encouraged in his Mind by the vaſt Hopes infuſed into him by the King of *Aragon*, who received the firſt Account of the Defeat by Letters from the King of *France* to the Queen, in which he ſignified that *Gaſton de Foix* her Brother was dead in the Height of his Glory after a Victory obtained over the Enemies, and afterwards

A. D. 1512. more particularly by Advices from his own Officers, which arrived later on account of the Difficulty of the Seas. And it appearing to him that the Kingdom of *Naples* was in great Danger, he had reſolved to ſend into *Italy* the Great Captain with a new Supply of Troops, to which Remedy he had recourſe for want of other Means; for though he treated that Officer with outward Marks of Reſpect, yet he really diſliked him, from the Memory of his former Popularity in *Naples*, and was jealous of his Greatneſs and Authority. The Pope being thus confirmed by a Concurrence of ſo many favourable Events, when the Secretary of the Biſhop of *Tivoli* arrived with the Articles of the Treaty, and gave his Holineſs Reaſons to think that even the Limitations added by the King, to moderate the Diſgrace of abandoning the Protection of *Bologna*, might be referred to his Will, entirely reſolved not to accept them. But, out of Regard to his Signet and to his Word paſſed to the College, pretending the contrary, as was ſometimes his Practice, in which he belyed the Fame of his Veracity, he cauſed the Articles to be

read in a Conſiſtory, and aſked the Advice of the Cardinals. On this the *Spaniſh* Cardinal *Arborenſe* and the Cardinal of *York*, who had before ſecretly concerted with him what they ſhould ſay, roſe up, and, in the Name of the Kings their reſpective Maſters, gravely exhorted his Holineſs to perſevere in his Conſtancy, and not to abandon the Cauſe of the Church, which with ſo much Dignity he had undertaken to defend: Repreſenting to him that the Neceſſities of the Times, which had induced him to hearken to theſe Propoſals, were now ceaſed; and that it manifeſtly appeared that God, who for ſome Ends, unknown to us, had permitted his Bark to be vehemently toſſed and tumbled in the Sea, would not ſuffer it to periſh; and that it was not conſiſtent with Decency nor Juſtice for him to make a ſeparate Peace, and to treat of an Affair of common Concern without the Participation of the reſt of the Confederates. Laſtly they admoniſhed him ſeriouſly to conſider of what dangerous Conſequence it muſt prove to the Apoſtolic See and to himſelf, to alienate himſelf from true and faithful

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. Friends for the Sake of adhering to reconciled Enemies. The Pontiff ſeeming to be moved by theſe Advices openly refuſed the Agreement; and a few Days after, proceeding to violent Meaſures, pronounced in the Conſiſtory a Monitory againſt the King of *France*, enjoining him, under the Penalties appointed by the ſacred Canons, to releaſe the Cardinal *de' Medici*. But he conſented that the Publication of it ſhould be ſuperſeded at the Intreaties of the College of Cardinals, who adviſed him to defer as long as poſſible the Uſe of the ſharpeſt Remedies, and propoſed to addreſs his Majeſty by Letters, written in the Name of the whole Body, for the ſame Purpoſe, in which they would exhort and beſeech him that, as it was becoming a Moſt Chriſtian Prince, he would ſet that Prelate at liberty. The Cardinal *de' Medici* had been conducted to *Milan*, where he was under honourable Cuſtody; and though he was in the Power of the Enemy, yet the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, and the Awe of Religion were conſpicuous in his Perſon, and at the ſame time

Pope rejects Peace

time a Contempt of the *Piſan* Council*. And indeed the Cauſe of that Aſſembly was abandoned, not only by others, but even by thoſe who had attended and favoured it by their Arms, none paying it any Devotion, or placing any Faith in it. For the Pontiff having granted the Cardinal a Power to abſolve from Cenſures thoſe Soldiers who would promiſe to bear Arms no more againſt the Church, and to allow to all the Dead, for whom it ſhould be demanded, Eccleſiaſtical Burial, incredible was the Concourſe, and ſurpriſing the Devotion of the Demanders and Promiſers†. The King's Miniſters winked at theſe Proceedings, but the Cardinals could not bear, without the higheſt Indignation, that before their Eyes, and in a Place where was their own Reſidence and the Seat of the Council, the Subjects and Soldiers of the King ſhould, contrary to his

A. D. 1512.

Schiſmatic Council deſpiſed.

* The Cardinal was lodged in the Palace of Cardinal *San Severino*; and had ſuch Honours paid him by the noble Families of the *Viſconti*, *Pallavicini*, and *Trivulzi*, that if he had been a Conqueror, and ſeated in the higheſt Degree of Fortune, he could ſcarce have been treated with more Reſpect. *Giovio.*

† The Clerks were hardly ſufficient to ſupply the Patents of Abſolution. *Giovio.*

A. D. 1512. Honour and Service, and in his own Territories, totally diſregard the Authority of the Council, and adhere to the *Roman* Church, acknowledging, with the profoundeſt Reverence, the Cardinal Priſoner as an Apoſtolical Legate.

On *Cæſar*'s Ratification of the Truce with the *Venetians*, though his Agents in *Verona* denied it, the King of *France* recalled Part of the Troops which he had in Garriſon in that City, ſince they were no longer neceſſary there, and becauſe the War which threatened him from *England* had obliged him to recall from beyond the Mountains Two Hundred Gens d'Arms, the Archers of his Guard, and Two Hundred other Lances: But being ſenſible, from his increaſing Apprehenſions of the *Swiſs*, that there was Occaſion for a ſtronger Force in the Dutchy of *Milan*, he had preſſed the *Florentines* to ſend into *Lombardy* the Three Hundred Men at Arms whom, by the Articles of the Confederacy, they were bound to furniſh for the Defence of his States. This Treaty was to expire in two Months, but

but he prevailed on them, while the Reputation of his Victory was yet freſh upon their Minds, to enter into a new Confederacy for five Years, by which he obliged himſelf to defend their State with Six Hundred Lances, and the *Florentines* on the other Side engaged to furniſh Four Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of all that the King poſſeſſed in *Italy*; tho' to avoid all Occaſions of involving themſelves in a War with the Pope, they excepted from the general Obligation the Town of *Cotignuola*, as a Place to which the Church might poſſibly pretend ſome Right. *A. D.* 1512. *Florentines* confederate with *France*.

BUT now the Affairs of the King manifeſtly appeared to be in a very dangerous State, for the *Swiſs* had at laſt reſolved to grant a Body of Six Thouſand Foot for the Service of the Pope, who had demanded them on pretence of employing their Arms againſt *Ferrara*. All that the Partiſans of *France* could effect was only to protract this Reſolution from Time to Time till this Preſent, on which account they were highly exclaimed againſt in the Diets by

A. D. 1512. the enraged Multitude, who were ſtrangely incenſed with Hatred againſt the Name of the King of *France*. It was not enough, they ſaid, for that King ungratefully to refuſe a ſmall Augmentation to the Pay of thoſe by whoſe Valour and Blood he had obtained ſo much Dominion and Reputation, but he muſt alſo in moſt abuſive Terms upbraid them with their Ignobility; as if at the Beginning all Men had not one Original, and one and the ſame Birth; and as if there were at preſent any Perſon great or noble whoſe Progenitors had not, at ſome Time or other, been poor, mean, and ignoble. He had begun, they ſaid, to hire *Lanſkenet* Foot, to ſhew that he no longer wanted their Service in the Wars, perſuading himſelf that ſince they were deprived of his Pay, they had nothing to do but to loiter and ſtarve upon their Mountains: That they ought therefore to demonſtrate to all the World the Vanity of his Imaginations, and the Falſehood of his Perſuaſions, and that his Ingratitude was hurtful to none but himſelf: That warlike Men were not to be reſtrained by any Difficulties from giving Teſtimonies

Swiſs incenſed againſt the King of *France*.

nies of their Valour; and that Gold and Silver were always at the Command of thoſe who were provided with Steel and Arms; and that it was neceſſary to convince the World for once how imprudently he took his Meaſures, when he preferred the *German* Foot to thoſe of the *Helvetians*. In ſhort, ſo tranſported were the *Swiſs* with Zeal for the Pope's Cauſe, that they regarded it as their own, and left their Houſes on the Receipt only of a ſingle *Rheniſh* Florin for each; whereas they never ſtirred for the *French* Service without Promiſes firſt made of great Pay to Soldiers, and Abundance of Preſents made to the Officers. Their Rendevouz was at *Coira*, the principal Town of the *Griſons*, who being Confederates of the King of *France*, from whom they generally received Penſions, had ſent to excuſe themſelves to his Majeſty, repreſenting that, by their antient Contracts with the principal Cantons of the *Swiſs*, they could not refuſe to ſend a certain Number of their Troops to accompany them into the Field. A. D. 1512.

THIS

A. D. 1512.

THIS Movement mightily diſturbed the Minds of the *French*, whoſe Forces were much diminiſhed; for after the General of *Normandy* had broke the *Italians*, they had not above Ten Thouſand Foot, and the Men at Arms which the King had recalled having paſſed the Mountains, there remained in *Italy* no more than Thirteen Hundred Lances, of which Three Hundred were in *Parma*. And yet the General of *Normandy*, acting more the Part of a Treaſurer than a Warrior, would not conſent to new Levies of Foot without the King's Commiſſion. But the Troops under *Paliſſe*, which had arrived at *Finale* in their Way to *Romagna*, were returned to *Milan*; and Orders were ſent to Cardinal *San Severino* to return thither with the Forces that were in *Romagna*. On the Departure of theſe Troops *Rimini* and *Ceſena* with their Caſtles, and alſo *Ravenna* returned without any Difficulty under Obedience to the Pope; and the *French* unwilling to leave the Dutchy of *Milan* unprovided, the City of *Bologna*, for the Support of which they had been at ſo much

much Expence and Trouble, was left abandoned in the Midſt of Dangers. *A. D.* 1512.

THE *Swiſs*, as ſoon as they were aſſembled at *Coira*, marched from thence to *Trent*, *Cæſar* having granted them Paſſage through his Dominions, though, willing to conceal as much as poſſible what he had before reſolved from the King of *France*, he proteſted that he could not forbid them to paſs through his Country on account of his Confederacy with them. From *Trent* the *Swiſs* deſcended into the *Veroneſe*, where they were expected by the *Venetians*, who concurred with the Pope in paying them; and though there was not Money enough for that Purpoſe, becauſe they were above Six Thouſand more than the Number demanded*, yet ſo ardent was the Reſentment of the Multitude againſt the King of *France*, that, contrary to their Cuſtom, they patiently put up with all Inconveniencies.

Deſcent of the *Swiſs* into *Lombardy*.

ON

* They were in all Twenty Thouſand, towards the Payment of whom the *Venetians* contributed an Overplus of Fifteen Thouſand Ducats. *Mocen. Buonac.* But *Bembo* makes them no more than Eighteen Thouſand.

A. D. 1512. On the other Side *Paliſſe* with the Army had advanced firſt to *Pontoglio* to prevent the Paſſage of the *Swiſs*, imagining that their Deſign was to make a Deſcent into *Italy* on that Quarter. But finding afterwards that their Motions were directed another Way, he had poſted himſelf at *Caſtiglione dello Striviere*, a Town Six Miles from *Peſchiera*, uncertain whether the Enemy intended to proceed, as it was reported, towards *Ferrara*, or attack the Dutchy of *Milan*; and this Uncertainty perhaps haſtened the ſubſequent Train of Misfortunes. For it was not doubted but the *Swiſs* would have purſued their March towards the *Ferrareſe*, had not the Stradiotti of the *Venetians*, unfortunately for the *French*, intercepted a Letter of *Paliſſe* to the General of *Normandy*, who remained at *Milan*, in which, ſignifying to him the State of Affairs, he demonſtrated that it would be very difficult to reſiſt the Enemies if they ſhould turn their Arms againſt the *Milaneſe*. This Letter being read in a Council of War, at which aſſiſted the Cardinal of *Sion*, who came from *Venice*, and

and the General Officers, the Deſign was altered, and it was reſolved with Reaſon, which ſeldom deceives, to betake themſelves to that Enterpriſe which they underſtood would moſt incommode the Enemy. *A. D.* 1512.

Swiſs turn their Arms againſt the Dutchy of Milan.

In purſuance of this Reſolution they marched from *Verona* to *Villafranca*, where they joined the *Venetian* Army, commanded by *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and conſiſting of Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, with a numerous Artillery both of battering and Field Pieces. On this *Paliſſe* abandoned *Valeggio* as defenceleſs, and retired to *Gambara*, with a Deſign to poſt himſelf at *Ponte Vico*, having in his Army but Six or Seven Thouſand Foot, the reſt being diſtributed in *Breſcia*, *Peſchiera*, and *Lignago*, and no more than a Thouſand Lances; for though he had been inclined to recall the Three Hundred that were in *Parma*, yet the manifeſt Danger that threatened *Bologna*, with the moſt preſſing Inſtances of the *Bentivogli*, obliged him to order thoſe Troops to enter that City, which was left almoſt without a Garriſon.

THE

A. D. 1512.

THE *French* now, though late, diſcovered their Danger, and the Vanity of thoſe Hopes with which they had been amuſed, and heartily curſing the Avarice and pernicious Counſels of the General of *Normandy*, they compelled him to conſent that *Federigo da Bozzolo* and ſome other *Italian* Officers ſhould raiſe, with all poſſible Speed, Six Thouſand Foot; a Remedy which could not be put in Practice under ten Days at leaſt. The *French* Army was weakened not only on account of the ſmall Number of Troops, but by the Diſagreement between the Generals; for the reſt in a manner diſdained to be under the Command of *Paliſſe*, and the Men at Arms, harraſſed and tired out with a long Courſe of Labours and Fatigues, wiſhed that the Dutchy of *Milan* were loſt, that they might return into *France*, rather than defend it with ſo much Danger and Vexation.

Weakneſs of the *French*.

PALISSE having quitted *Valeggio*, the *Venetians* and *Swiſs* took Poſſeſſion of it, and thence paſſing the *Mincio*, encamped in

in the *Mantouan*, where the Marquis, excuſing himſelf on account of his Inability to reſiſt, gave free Paſſage to both Parties. In this difficult Juncture it was the Reſolution of the *French* Commanders wholly to abandon the Field, and attend to the Preſervation of the moſt important Towns, in Hopes, and not without Reaſon, that by temporiſing ſo great a Body of *Swiſs* would not keep long together, becauſe the Pope, who was as backward in Payments as forward in Wars, diſtruſting his Sufficiency for ſubſiſting ſo great a Number, was very ſlow in his Diſburſements. Purſuant to this Reſolution they placed in *Breſcia* Two Thouſand Foot, an Hundred and Fifty Lances, and an Hundred Men at Arms of the *Florentines*; in *Crema* Fifty Lances and a Thouſand Foot; in *Bergamo* a Thouſand Foot and an Hundred Men at Arms of the *Florentines*. The reſt of the Army, which conſiſted of Seven Hundred Lances, Two Thouſand *French* Foot, and Four Thouſand *Germans*, retired to *Ponte Vico*, a ſtrong Situation, and convenient for covering *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*, where they were A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. were in Hopes of eaſily maintaining themſelves. But the next Day, to their Surpriſe, came Letters from *Cæſar* with Orders for the *German* Foot immediately to quit the *French* Service; and theſe Troops, being almoſt all of them of the County of *Tirol*, they durſt not oppoſe the Will of their Sovereign, but departed the ſame Day. By their Departure *Paliſſe* and the other Commanders loſt all Hopes of any longer defending the Dutchy of *Milan*, and immediately retired in Confuſion from *Ponte Vico* to *Pizzichitone*. By this Step the *Cremoneſe*, finding themſelves wholly abandoned, ſurrendered to the Confederate Army, which was approaching, and obliged themſelves to pay the *Swiſs* Forty Thouſand Ducats. But Diſputes ariſing concerning the Property of the City, the *Venetians* ſtriving to have it reſtored to their Republic, it was at laſt received in the Name of the League, and of *Maſſimiliano* the Son of *Lodovico Sforza*, for whom the Pontiff and the *Swiſs* pretended that the Dutchy of *Milan* was to be conquered; the Caſtle, however, remained in the Hands of the *French*. The ſame time alſo the

Cremona and Bergamo revolt from the French

the City of *Bergamo* revolted from the *French* to the Confederates, for *Paliſſe* having recalled the Garriſon to reinforce his Army, as ſoon as they were gone ſome Exiles entered the Place, and ſtirred up the Citizens to rebel. A. D. 1512.

FROM *Pizzichitone Paliſſe* paſſed the *Adda*, where he was joined by the Three Hundred Lances appointed for the Defence of *Bologna*, and recalled on the Increaſe of the Danger. Here he was in hopes of making a Stand, and diſputing the Paſſage of the River, if he were timely reinforced with the new Levies of Foot which it had been reſolved to raiſe. But, alas! this Reſource proved as deficient as the reſt, for Money was wanting to liſt the Soldiers, the General of *Normandy* having no ready Caſh, nor Means for raiſing Supplies, as uſual, by mortgaging the Royal Revenue, for in ſo dangerous a Juncture the public Credit was loſt. Wherefore the General, after four Days, as ſoon as the Enemy approached the River three Miles below *Pizzichitone*, quitted his Poſt, and retired to *Sant. Angelo*,

A. D. 1512. in order to retreat the next Day from thence to *Pavia*.

In this deſperate Circumſtance all Hopes of defending the Dutchy of *Milan* being vaniſhed, and the whole Country riſing in Rebellion and Tumults, *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, the General of *Normandy*, *Antonmaria Palavicino*, *Galeazzo Viſconti*, and many other Noblemen, with all the King's Officers and Miniſters, conſulted their own Safety, and departed from *Milan* for *Piedmont*. The Cardinals, who ſtood as much in Fear of the People as of the Enemy, had fled from the City ſome Days before, though, ſhewing more Fierceneſs in their Decrees than in the reſt of their Actions, they had much about the ſame time ſuſpended the Pope from all ſpiritual and temporal Adminiſtration of the Church, as a Preamble to his Deprivation.

Milan abandoned by the *French*

These Tumults were conducive to the Preſervation of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who was reſerved by Heaven for the higheſt Felicity. For having ſet out, under a Guard,

Guard, for *France*, as he was taking Boat in the Morning at the Paſſage of the *Po* that lies over againſt *Baſignana*, by the Antients called *Auguſta Bacienorum*, he was reſcued by *Rinaldo Zallo* at the Head of ſome of his Domeſtics and certain Peaſants of a Village called *Pieve del Cairo*, where the Cardinal had lodged that Night, who coming unawares upon the Guard of *French* Soldiers, and giving a Shout, excited ſo great a Terror and Confuſion among them that they thought of nothing but how to ſecure themſelves by Flight. *A. D.* 1512. Cardinal *de' Medici* reſcued.

BUT *Paliſſe* having entered *Pavia* was reſolved to ſtay in the Place and defend himſelf, for which End he requeſted *Trivulzio* and the General of *Normandy* to repair thither. *Trivulzio* being ſent by Directions from the General and other principal Perſons, demonſtrated to him the Vanity of his Reſolution, that it was impoſſible to put a Stop to ſo great a Ruin, the Army being without Infantry, and the Shortneſs of Time not admitting of new Levies: That no Soldiers could be procured but from Places far diſtant, and with

A. D. 1512. the greateſt Difficulty; and that, even if all other Impediments were removed, there was no Money to pay the Troops, the public Credit being entirely ſunk, their Friends full of Fears, and the People of Hatred, from the immoderate Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiery, under which they had ſo long ſuffered. *Trivulzio* having thus ſpoken his Sentiments, left *Paliſſe*, and went to procure a commodious Paſſage for the Troops over the *Po*, by laying a Bridge over that River at a good Diſtance from *Valenza* towards *Aſti*, where the Channel is narroweſt.

Deſperate State of the *French* Affairs.

But the Confederate Army, to which the City of *Lodi*, with its Caſtle, had ſurrendered when the *French* retired to the *Adda*, advanced from *Sant. Angelo*, and came before *Pavia*, where the *Venetians* immediately began to batter the Caſtle, and Part of the *Swiſs* paſſed the River that runs cloſe by the City in Boats. The *French* fearing that they would intercept their Paſſage at the Stone Bridge that lies over the River *Teſino*, which was the only Way they had to ſave themſelves, drew towards

French abandon *Pavia* with Loſs.

towards that Bridge, in order to retire out of the Place. But before they could get off the Rearguard, behind which were poſted laſt of all, to guard the Horſes, ſome *German* Foot, who had not marched out with their Countrymen, the *Swiſs* broke out upon them from the Quarters about the *Porta Nuova*, and from the Caſtle, which was abandoned, and ſkirmiſhed with them through the whole Length of the Town and of the Bridge, the *Germans* above all making a ſtout Reſiſtance. But in paſſing the Bridge of *Gravalone*, which was of Wood, the Planks breaking by the Weight of the Horſes, the *French* and *Germans* who had not yet paſſed were all either killed or taken. *Pavia* was obliged to pay a large Sum of Money, *Milan* had before compounded for a much larger Sum, and all the other Cities, except *Breſcia* and *Crema*, ſtrove which ſhould be moſt forward to pay their Contributions. The Name of the Empire was cried up through all the Country, and the State was received and governed in the Name of the *Holy League*, as they agreed to call it. The Adminiſtration of the public Affairs

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. fairs was under the Direction of the Cardinal of *Sion*, whom the Pope had appointed his Legate; but all the Money that was raiſed by the Contributions or Taxes was paid away to the *Swiſs*, who had all the Benefit, and all the Gains, But when the Fame of their Succeſs had reached *Switzerland*, the whole Nation was elated to ſuch a Degree that at the Breaking up of the Diet, called at *Zurich* on Matters relating to this Expedition, they came pouring into *Lombardy* in great Numbers to participate of the Succeſs of their Countrymen.

In this great Revolution of the public Affairs the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* voluntarily ſubmitted to the Pope, who pretended a Right to them as Members of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*. The *Swiſs* ſeized on *Lucarna*, and the *Griſons* on the *Valtolina* and *Chiavenna*, which Places lay very commodious for their Affairs: And *Janus Fregoſo*, a General Officer in the *Venetian* Service, proceeding to *Genoa* with ſome Horſe and Foot which he had obtained

tained of the Senate, procured that City to revolt, and expel the *French* Governor, and himſelf to be created Doge, which Dignity his Father had enjoyed before him. In the ſame Career of Fortune all the Towns and Fortreſſes of *Romagna* returned under the Dominion of the Pope; and the Duke of *Urbino*, with the Eccleſiaſtic Forces, approaching *Bologna*, the *Bentivogli* in Deſpair abandoned that City, and were proſecuted with the utmoſt Severity by the Pope, who interdicted all Places that ſhould for the future receive or entertain any of that Family. Nor did he ſhew leſs Reſentment againſt the City of *Bologna*, being highly incenſed againſt the Inhabitants, who, forgetting the many Benefits and Favours he had beſtowed upon them, had ungratefully revolted from his Dominion, had inſulted his Statue with many vile Indignities, and caſt many ſcornful and abuſive Reflections on his Character. For theſe Reaſons he created no new Magiſtrates of their own Body, nor any more admitted them into the leaſt Share in the Government; but took care to extort, by means

A. D. 1512.

A. D. 1512. means of ſevere Miniſters, great Sums of Money from many of the Citizens as Adherents to the *Bentivogli*. On theſe Grounds it was reported, whether true or falſe, that, if his Projects had not been interrupted by Death, he had formed a Deſign to deſtroy the City, and remove the Inhabitants to *Cento*.

The End of the Tenth Book and Fifth Volume.

ERRATA.

Page 8 for *Cordi r. Corti.* 54 conſideing *r.* conſiding; as elſewhere, for ſi *r.* ſi. 60 Hope, *r.* Hopes. 65 ſatety *r.* ſafety. 69 ſiruck *r.* ſtruck. 79 3000 *Spaniſh r.* 300. 125 declared to *d.* to. 138 was willing *r.* he was. 152 Beſiegers *r.* Beſieged. 211 Reputation *r.* or Reputation. 231 after Cardinals *r.* *. 329 States *r.* Diſtricts, 394 16000 Lances *r.* 1600, *&c.*

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